DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 210 932 FL 012 713

AUTHOR	Cronnell, Bruce, Ed.
TITLE	The Writing Needs of Linguistically Different Students. Proceedings of a Research Practice Conference held at the Southwest Regional Laboratory for Educational Research and Development (Los Alamitos, California, June 25-26, 1981).
INSTITUTION	Southwest Regional Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, Los Alamitos, Calif.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	81
NOTE	164p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Accounting Department, SWRL Educational Research and Development, 4665 Lampson Avenue, Los Alamitos, CA 90720 ($5.00).
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	American Indians; *Bilingualism; Black Dialects; Blacks; *English (Second Language); Language Maintenance; *Language Variation; Learning Processes; Literacy Education; Non English Speaking; *Nonstandard Dialects; Spanish Speaking; *Student Needs; *Writing Instruction; Writing Skills
IDENTIFIERS	Bilingual Programs; United States (Southwest)

ABSTRACT

The conference reported here addressed the differences in learning writing among students who do not speak standard American English. In "Introduction to Black English," Robert Berdan notes the variability of Black dialect. Maryellen Garcia discusses the range of language abilities inherent in "Spanish-English Bilingualism in the Southwest." In "Design and Implementation of Writing Instruction for Speakers of Non-Standard English: Perspectives for a National Neighborhood Literacy Program," John Baugh focuses on adolescent and adult speakers of Black English. Carole Edelsky reports on a study of the writing of young Spanish-speaking Mexican Americans in "From 'Jimosalcsco' to '7 narangas se calleron y el arbol-est-triste en lagrymas': Writing Development in a Bilingual Program." The subjects of "The Writing Needs of Hispanic Students" by John Amastae are Mexican-American college students who have not been exposed to bilingual education. Finally, in "American Indian Children and Writing: An Introduction to Some Issues," Lance D. Potter underlines the linguistic variation that exists in the two communities studied. (Author/JB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED210932

THE WRITING NEEDS
OF
LINGUISTICALLY DIFFERENT
STUDENTS

The proceedings of a research/practice conference held at SWRL Educational Research and Development, Los Alamitos, California, June 25-26, 1981.

Edited by
Bruce Cronnell

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

● Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

SWRL Educational
Research & Development

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

FL 012 713

SWRL Educational Research and Development
4665 Lampson Avenue
Los Alamitos, CA 90720
© 1981

The material in this publication was prepared under a contract with the National Institute of Education, Department of Education. Its contents do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Institute of Education or of any other agency of the United States Government.

CONTENTS

Page

Introduction 1

Introduction to Black English
Robert Berdan 5

Design and Implementation of Writing Instruction for Speakers of Non-Standard English: Perspectives for a National Neighborhood Literacy Program
John Baugh 17

Spanish-English Bilingualism in the Southwest
Maryellen Garcia 45

From "JIMOSA£SCO" to "7 NARANGAS SE CALLERON Y EL ARBOL-EST-TRISTE EN LAGRYMAS": Writing Development in a Bilingual Program
Carole Edelsky 63

The Writing Needs of Hispanic Students
Jon Amastae 99

American Indian Children and Writing: An Introduction to Some Issues
Lance D. Potter 129

Biographical Notes on the Contributors 161

Participants 163

INTRODUCTION

Writing is a complex task for all students--it is not easy to learn how to write. Writing is sometimes viewed as speech put down on paper. Since most students can speak well when they enter school, putting speech on paper would seem to be a rather straightforward task of transcribing.

However, writing is not simply putting speech on paper. Written English is different from spoken English. The basic conventions of writing--spelling, punctuation, capitalization--often do not directly reflect speech. Moreover, while speech takes place in a person-to-person context, writing is divorced from the reality of time and space, and thus requires more specificity and detail. In addition, writing demands more organization, more attention to cohesion, and more accuracy than most speech. Consequently, because writing is more complex than speaking, students cannot simply apply their speaking abilities when they write.

Even though writing is not the same as speaking, the two processes are similar--at least for students whose spoken English is similar to written English. In other words, students who speak Standard English (which serves as the basis for written English) should have an easier time of learning to write than students who do not speak Standard English.

But many students do not speak Standard English; instead, they speak some nonstandard variety of English or they do not speak English at all. For these linguistically different students, learning to write (Standard) English is likely to be more difficult.

Introduction

Students who do not speak Standard English come from a variety of racial, ethnic, language, and geographical backgrounds; they are frequently from lower socio-economic families. They include such diverse groups as inner-city Blacks, American Indians, and Hispanics. But no matter what their background, they do not speak Standard English--they do not speak the form of English that serves as the basis for writing in English.

As a regional laboratory funded by the National Institute of Education, SWRL Educational Research and Development seeks to improve educational equity within its region--Arizona, California, and Nevada. Of great concern to SWRL and to schools within the region is the education of many children who do not speak Standard English, especially Blacks, Mexican-Americans, and American Indians.

As part of its concern for the writing needs of linguistically different students, SWRL sponsored a conference on June 25-26, 1981, to look at and discuss the issues involved. This book includes six papers presented at the conference.*

Two papers provide background on the speech of two groups of linguistically different students. Robert Berdan looks at Black English and notes the variability in that dialect. Maryellen García discusses the range of language abilities among Mexican-Americans in the Southwest.

The four other papers address specific research into the writing of linguistically different students and provide suggestions for instructional applications. John Baugh looks at literacy in the Black English speaking community. While he focuses on adolescent and adult speakers of Black English, his views are also relevant to the teaching of writing at lower levels.

---

*The presentation by Carol Reed--on Black English from historical and international perspectives--was not available for publication.

Carole Edelsky reports on a study of the writing of young Spanish-speaking Mexican-Americans. Jon Amastae discusses the language and writing abilities of Mexican-American college students--who share a background similar to that of Edelsky's students. However, the students that Edelsky reports on are in a bilingual program; the students in Amastae's study were not exposed to bilingual education.

The final paper, by Lance Potter, reports a project undertaken to look at the use of English in two American Indian communities. Potter points out that considerable linguistic variation exists among American Indians--just as other chapters note the linguistic variation among Blacks and Mexican-Americans.

The goal of this book is to present some of the research that has been conducted on the writing needs of linguistically different students. Although most educators probably agree that such students have special needs, very little research has been done to identify these needs and to establish appropriate instructional strategies that can meet these needs. Therefore, this volume is only a beginning look at the writing needs of linguistically different students, but a look that we hope will encourage additional work in the area.

Bruce Cronnell
SWRL Educational Research and Development

INTRODUCTION TO BLACK ENGLISH

Robert Berdan
National Center for Bilingual Research

This introduction to Black English describes some characteristics of Black English and discusses more general concerns: what dialects and languages are, how speakers vary in their use of Black English, and what this variation has to do with teaching. Instead of an outline of all the distinctive features of Black English, this paper begins with a discussion of a speech segment and then addresses some more general considerations of language and language use.

Several years ago, while studying the language of young children in Los Angeles, we were sitting on the floor, talking with kindergarten children. One girl was very concerned that we weren't sitting on the chairs and wondered who the chairs belonged to. When her questions persisted, I said, "Well, Alisa, if you like, that can be your chair. You sit in it."

She looked at me somewhat quizzically and replied, "But if it don't nobody bes here, who chair it is?"

Alisa speaks Black English, or more precisely, one of the numerous varieties of Black English often referred to as Black English Vernacular. Black English, of course, consists of far more than that one sentence. It is, in fact, the usual way of speaking for a significant portion of the population. But that one sentence does provide an example of a large number of the distinctive characteristics of Black English.

BUT IF IT DON'T NOBODY BES HERE, WHO CHAIR IT IS?

The first noticeable feature in this sentence is the word it. Black English speakers tend to use it rather than there to introduce a new topic or to indicate the existence of something. In this case, it doesn't refer to any prior noun phrase or any prior occurrence of something; it refers to the existence of something (or, as in this sentence, the non-existence of someone).

Many varieties of English allow only one negative in phrases like "isn't anybody" or "is nobody." In Black English, multiple negatives are more the rule than the exception. That is, where negation can be indicated in several alternate ways in other dialects, all of those elements may show negation simultaneously in Black English. In particular, indefinite pronouns and verbs both tend to take negation. For Alisa, the negation occurs both in the word don't and in the word nobody.

The use of don't in this sentence is distinctive for two more reasons, in addition to the multiple negation. The first is that the form don't is used, rather than doesn't with the singular subject. Few speakers of Black English use doesn't (or does). This generalized use of don't is part of a tendency not to indicate third-person singular on verb forms, although for most other verbs the marker is used at least sometimes, as in the form bes in this sentence.

The use of bes is particularly characteristic of Black English and is the reason that the sentence had to have the negative form don't. The occurrence of be in a variety of settings where other dialects use *is* is one aspect of Black English that is most widely talked about and least understood (by linguists). Syntactically, *be* operates like a main verb. We know that *be* is a main verb because of its negative form: *don't*, not *isn't*. Similarly, the question form would be *do he be here*, rather than *is he here*. Just like a main verb, *be* can take an agreement marker (-*s*) for some speakers, though not for many. This is a strange place to find agreement because *be* is normally an uninflected form. So *be* behaves syntactically like a main verb. Moreover, *be* tends to occur more frequently in dependent clauses than in main clauses.

Semantically what does *be* mean? Does it mean the same as *is*, or does it have a different meaning? For some speakers, *be* denotes duration or iterative action. But for a large number of children, at least in Los Angeles, the syntactic form of *be* is maintained, but the semantic distinction is disappearing.

Next we come to *who*, which has an analog in the form of *whose*. In Black English, possessive markers are usually not used when the possessive is followed by a noun. For instance, in the sentence "This is Jill chair," a possessive marker is not used. But when the possessive comes at the end of the sentence, as in "This chair is Jill's," the possessive marker must be used; not "This chair is Jill."

That particular pattern distinction is important in a number of other respects, and one of them is illustrated at the end of the sentence: "who chair it is?" Another characteristic of Black English is that questions like this often do not have an inverted auxiliary; that is, speakers do not say, "who chair is it?" In addition, in Black English it is possible not only to have a form of *be* (here, *is*) or to have a contracted form, but also to have no copula at all, although not in this particular setting. We might have a sentence like "This chair Jill's," which has no copula because a predicate follows. But when the copula comes at the end of a sentence or in other places where other dialects of English do not allow contraction, Black English does not allow deletion. That is, in Standard English we can say, "I know whose chair it is," but we cannot say, "I know whose chair it's." In those situations where Standard English does not permit it's, Black English does not allow deletion.

This analysis of one sentence illustrates some of the distinctive syntactic features of Black English. We call Black English a dialect, so we need to answer these questions: "What is a dialect?" "What makes Black English a dialect?" "What is a language?" "How are dialects different from languages?" In the first place, the way "dialect" is used by linguists is somewhat different from the way "dialect" is often used in informal speech--that is, linguists do not think of "dialect" as a pejorative term. Rather, linguists think of it as a classification term, analogous to the way biologists use systems of classification. Biologists classify by genus and species; similarly, linguists use a two-place taxonomy system for categorizing languages and language varieties, so that language is the analog of the term genus: a higher category that is subcatagorized into species or, in this case, into dialects. And in that sense, everyone speaks a dialect of a language, just as all of the biological world is characterized as species of some higher order genus.

Another point to be made is that Black English is not just the characteristics described here, or even just the full set of linguistically distinct characteristics. We need to distinguish between characteristics that are Black English forms (Black English features) and the dialect Black English. When the characteristics of other English dialects are compared with characteristics of Black English, there is a tremendous overlap. Most aspects of language--most of the vocabulary, most of the syntax, most of the rest of the system of Black English--are shared by other English dialects. Black English does not consist just of those features that are unique to it; it is a system of talking, a system of communication; it is all of language use. But some characteristics distinguish Black English from other dialects. In particular, what seems to distinguish it is not any one characteristic; it is the whole unique configuration that essentially draws from the same set of characteristics that we find in other English dialects.

Variability is also an important feature about Black English; that is, when we talk about what is Black English and what is not, we have to realize that we are talking about a very heterogeneous phenomenon. People have very different language-learning and language-use experiences; these differences are reflected in the language they develop and use. In fact, if we look closely at individuals, we can find idiosyncratic characteristics for every individual that, like fingerprints, would distinguish each person from all others. But in order to generalize, we find it useful to talk about groupings of persons and groupings of language behavior.

We know that language behavior depends on who talks to whom and what kind of language-learning experience a child has had. Language variations tend to be well described in terms of geography, social class, and culture. These factors do not determine an individual's language use; rather, they tend to be predictive or correlative, so that it is useful to talk about aggregates of language use that tend to co-occur with aggregates of persons who are defined by sets of characteristics.

Not only does Black English embody both the unique features of Black English and a whole way of speaking, but that whole way of speaking is itself, for particular individuals, also variable. The following lines from Langston Hughes (Simply Heavenly) suggest some of this variability. Hughes has a character known as Jess Simple, who is the main figure in a series of plays. The following is a discussion between Simple and his girlfriend Joyce (who is a very proper lady) about where they should go for their honeymoon.

JOYCE: Oh, Jess! Then how about the far west? Were you ever at the Grand Canyon?

SIMPLE: I were. Fact is I was also at Niagara Falls, after I were at the Grand Canyon.

JOYCE: I do not wish to criticize your grammar, Mr. Simple, but as long as you have been around New York, I wonder why you continue to say, I were, and at other times, I was.

SIMPLE: Because sometimes I were, and sometimes I was, baby. I was at Niagara Falls and I were at the Grand Canyon--since that were in the far distant past when I were a coachboy on the Santa Fe. I was more recently at Niagara Falls.

JOYCE: I see. But you never were "I were"! There is no "I were." In the past tense there is only "I was." The verb to be is declined, "I am, I was, I have been."

SIMPLE: Joyce, baby, don't be so touchous about it. Do you want me to talk like Edward R. Murrow?

JOYCE: No! But when we go to formals I hate to hear you saying, for example, "I taken" instead of "I took." Why do colored people say "I taken" so much?

SIMPLE: Because we are taken--taken until we are undertaken, and Joyce, baby, funerals is high!

JOYCE: Funerals are high.

SIMPLE: Joyce, what difference do it make?

JOYCE: Jess! What difference does it make?" "Does" is correct English.

SIMPLE: And "do" ain't?

JOYCE: Isn't--not ain't.

SIMPLE: Woman, don't tell me "ain't" ain't in the dictionary.

JOYCE: But it ain't--I mean--it isn't correct.

SIMPLE: I give less than a small damn! What if it aren't?

Langston Hughes has, I think, a tremendous number of insights about the use of dialect and the relationship of dialect to social class (although I would take issue with the idea that the distinction between were and was is one of remote and less remote past tense). The point, though, is that language is highly variable, even within particular speakers.

When we analyze speech, we might characterize it in terms of the number of words spoken through time. Then we can look at the forms that are used and see the kinds of alternations that really occur in speech. Do speakers go back and forth between forms, or do they say a long stretch of one form and then switch? Are we observing people switch between dialects, or are we observing variation within a single dialect?

Figure 1: Use of /r/ Over Time

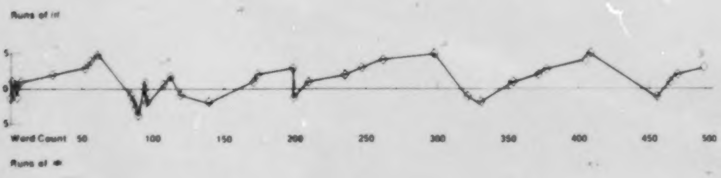
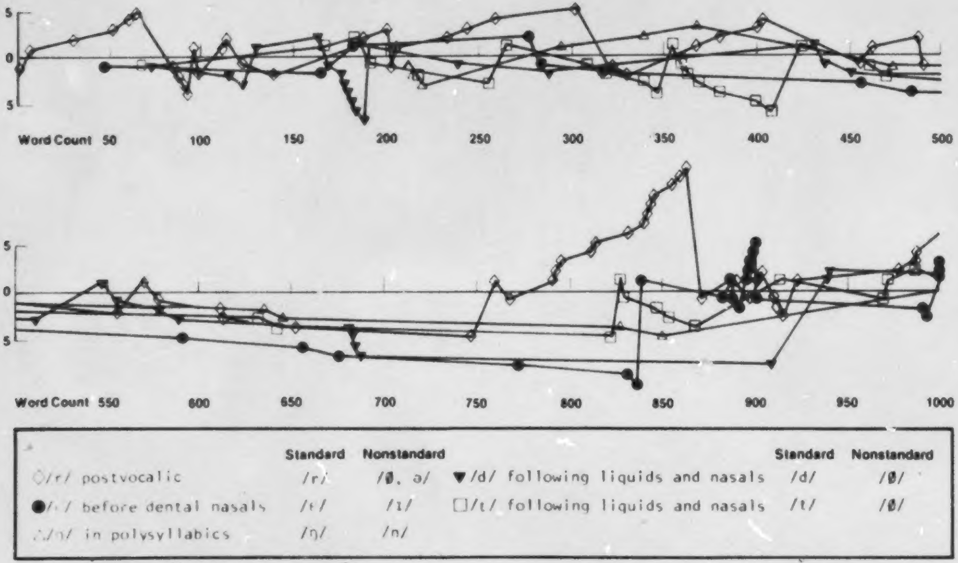


Figure 1 represents one first-grade girl's use of /r/ after vowels. The axis indicates the number of words spoken. Above the axis is an indication of a word that had an /r/ pronunciation in it. Below the axis is an indication of a word where /r/ was not pronounced or was pronounced with a vocalized pronunciation. The distance above or below the axis indicates how many words of the same form continue in a run. In this particular speech, the pronunciation moves between /r/ and no /r/. It would be possible to argue that a segment of about a hundred words is an r-ful dialect, and a segment of about fifty words is an r-less dialect. And back and forth. But what happens when we look at several characteristics together? Figure 2 represents this same girl's use of five features over a longer time period:

1. postvocalic /r/ (where lack of /r/ is below the axis)
2. /ɛ/ before /n/ (where /ɪ/ is below the axis)
3. -ing (where -in' is below the axis)
4. final /d/ after /l/ and /n/ (where lack of /d/ is below axis)
5. final /t/ after /l/ and /n/ (where lack of /t/ is below the axis)

We are looking at five phonological features, a rather small subset of all the things that vary in children's speech. What can this show us about dialect switching and about variability within dialects? If a dialect switch occurs everytime we move from above the line to below the line, we find this poor child flipping back and forth about every other word, and in some cases switching within the same word. If we take this figure and add to it all the variable characteristics discussed above and add about a dozen other characteristics of Black English, we find that the notion of switching between dialects is not very powerful any more. We find that these switches are not motivated by changes in topic, by syntactic boundaries, by changes in audience, or by any other factor that might be a reason to switch between dialects.

Figure 2: Use of Five Features Over Time



What in fact we see is a dialect that embodies variability. The forms that are characteristic of Black English are part of it; the forms that occur in other dialects are also part of Black English. Both kinds of forms co-occur within the speech of single individuals. That is, most children who say sentences without copula forms, as in "This chair Jill's," also say "This chair is Jill's." Children who use be in these situations also use is. Most children who use multiple negation will also on occasion not use multiple negation in at least some situations. Clearly, people vary back and forth.

This variation has important pedagogical consequences. Typically, dialect intervention programs in effect say to children, "If you don't say is, I'm going to teach you to say is." Or, "You don't use plural markers; I'm going to teach you to use plural markers." The intent is to teach the student new characteristics of language. But most children that we observe already have all those forms. Thus, we really need to teach children that Standard English uses only a subset of the various forms that are legitimate within their dialect. In this sense, Standard English is the restricted dialect, and students need to learn which of their possible forms are legitimate in Standard English.

This point is in some sense counterintuitive because so much literature suggests that Black English is a simplified dialect because it "doesn't have" various features. Viewing Black English as "simplified" has consequences in terms of what happens to children. When we look at the products of some kinds of writing instruction, we find that children have done their best to accommodate instruction that says that they should have is, plurals, and other such features. We find these features scattered throughout their compositions; students stick s's all over their texts, trying their best to do what they have been taught. In fact, what we really need to teach them is to use a subset of the forms they already use.

Much more could be said about Black English in particular and about dialects in general. But this has been an introduction to some features that are particularly distinctive in Black English, to some notions about how complex and variable that dialect is, and to some ideas that may be helpful in instruction.

DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION OF LANGUAGE ARTS PROGRAMS FOR SPEAKERS OF NONSTANDARD ENGLISH: PERSPECTIVES FOR A NATIONAL NEIGHBORHOOD LITERACY PROGRAM

John Baugh
The University of Texas at Austin

The Ann Arbor case on Black American English rekindled the controversy surrounding the education of Black children, particularly ways to improve their language arts skills. Some articles on the subject misrepresented the decision, claiming that teachers were being forced to learn Black Vernacular English (BVE).* The final mandate was focused in an entirely different direction. Judge Charles W. Joiner's ruling required the school district to make a definite effort to help BVE students learn how to read Standard English. Since that time, teachers at the Martin

---

*Black Vernacular English (BVE) refers to the nonstandard dialect that is common to most Black Americans who have limited social contact with whites. The social networks of various individuals is therefore essential to their speech and to their speech community membership. As indicated throughout the paper, vernacular dialect poses the greatest educational barrier to Blacks who hope to participate fully in the mainstream culture.

Luther King Elementary School in Ann Arbor, Michigan, have been required to attend seminars and workshops on various cultural and linguistic aspects of vernacular Black culture.

I participated in a conference on this subject in Ann Arbor in June, 1980, which was jointly sponsored by the Ann Arbor School District and the National Institute of Education. My presentation concentrated on some of the differences between bilingualism and bidialectalism (I will briefly review the distinction in the following section). However, my discussion at that conference provided little in the way of concrete suggestions for the classroom or the home community. In fact, one of the teachers presented me with an important problem: "I think it's good that we learned about the student's home environment, and I now know that their speech is different, not ignorant; but what I really need most of all is something that will work in the classroom. There's no way I can teach if I can't keep the students at their desks. I need to have materials that will work right now." For over thirty years, scholars have offered a variety of suggestions for teaching Black students, and most of the programs have failed for one reason or another.

My own orientation to BVE is somewhat unusual because the majority of my data are from adult Blacks. During the past nine years, I have conducted over 200 hours of tape-recorded interviews with Black adults from all regions of the United States, spanning all social and educational backgrounds. Race seems to be the only common denominator for my consultants because their opinions, speech, and personal experiences vary tremendously. The diversity that I have observed, however, seems to be characteristically American. The common racial bonds have nevertheless cultivated another shared trait: All of the adults that I have interviewed stress the value of a good education. From unskilled laborers to successful professionals, the overwhelming majority of Blacks--especially parents--want their children to obtain educational skills that will help them get good jobs. In spite of this goal, minority students in general and Black students in particular perennially fail, and this failure has been a major source of concern to educators since World War II. The research that SWRL has conducted and disseminated over the past ten years reflects the magnitude of these pedagogical concerns.

The challenge, then, is still very much the same: We need to utilize our knowledge from social science to develop effective educational programs. I agree with Abrahams and Gay (1972) in their observation that many educational problems are cultural. Here I am not referring just to Blacks, but to Hispanics, Native Americans, Hawaiians, and the deaf as well. These groups include subcultures that share a legacy of isolation from mainstream American society; those minorities who do participate are clearly exceptions--not the rule.

Previous suggestions, from a variety of research disciplines, have maintained the position that teachers need to do more, and they need to learn more about the dialects and languages of the culturally diverse students that come to their classes. But the day-to-day demands on the classroom teacher are capricious at best, so the proposals here take another tack--perhaps we need to devise programs that reduce the demands on the teacher's time and class preparation. This approach can be especially important in times of limited funding when overcrowded classrooms restrict the effectiveness of even our best teachers. We must consider both sides of the issue: Teachers need programs that will allow them to really educate, and students require programs that are tailored to their cultural and linguistic backgrounds. In my opinion, these needs are not irreconcilable, but they do present quite complicated problems.

Labov's (1972) observations about the relationship between reading failure and peer-group participation are still painfully relevant to minority students in our public schools:

> . . . the major problem responsible for reading failure is cultural conflict. The school environment and school values are plainly not influencing the boys firmly grounded in street culture. The group which does show learning contains a large percentage of boys who do not fit in with street culture--who reject it or are rejected by it. For the majority, our data confirms indirect evidence that teachers in the city schools have little ability to reward or punish members of the street culture or to motivate learning by any means. (p. 252)

The key to success will therefore require the development of language arts programs--in speech, reading, and writing--that provide suitable rewards for students from different subcultures, including the Black vernacular street culture.

In the remainder of the paper, I will concentrate on two major elements of any successful program, namely motivation of and ethnosensitivity* to both teachers and students. Similar calls for success are quite common; however, I hope that my efforts can be distinguished on two grounds: first by my desire to reduce the teacher's work load, and secondly by providing detailed instructions for implementing a writing game ("Lyric Shuffle") that supplements present reading programs. But let us first review some of the distinctions between bilingualism and bidialectalism. This will, in turn, set the stage for expanding on my previous suggestions.

---

*The concept of ethnosensitivity views social topics from the natives' perspective. In the past, social scientists have been criticized for ethnocentricity, where values from foreign cultures were imposed on analyses of various cultures around the globe. The ethnographic tradition and the concept of ethnosensitivity attempt to paint reality through the cultural values of a cohesive social group, in this case the BVE speech community.

A SURVEY OF PREVIOUS EFFORTS

All too often the educational needs of minorities have been explained in terms of "missing skills" rather than in terms of cultural and linguistic differences. While there are many notable exceptions, like the research that has been conducted at SWRL and at the Center for Applied Linguistics, some of the finest scholars have confused the issue--even though this was not their goal. Therefore, I would like to clarify my objectives at the outset; I will be presenting a prospectus for the concept of a national neighborhood literacy program, which is based on my own research on adult Black dialects in all of their linguistic diversity.

Some Black Americans have mastered Standard English, and, for obvious reasons, these people are usually highly educated in the formal sense. But the majority of Black Americans are still culturally and linguistically removed from their mainstream counterparts. Because of the unique history of slavery,* Black speech has evolved into a bidialectal system. It is simpler to view this state as a dichotomy, where nonstandard forms appear on one side, and Standard English appears on the other. The actual situation is much more complicated because isolated individuals use and control different ranges of speaking styles. When the vernacular population is considered, however, there can be no question that Blacks who speak Standard English are a minority within a minority, albeit a steadily growing group of speakers.

---

*Most people are unaware that Black Americans have a unique linguistic history, compared to other groups that have migrated to the United States. Most groups maintained their mother tongue in ethnic ghettos until their children and grandchildren learned English. But the slave traders engaged in the practice of isolating slaves from other speakers of their native tongue. While this separation presumably reduced the likelihood of uprisings, it also forced immediate reliance on a new language, with no opportunity for a gradual transition to the new language over several generations. It is largely for this reason that many Blacks still speak BVE.

It is this reality that our teachers face in their classrooms, and it is here that the social sciences can contribute useful information. Scholars in linguistics, folklore, anthropology, sociology, and economics all have valuable insights into the abyss between white and colored populations in the United States.

The utility of a neighborhood-based language arts program is that it can be staffed with volunteers, thereby making education more accessible, while simultaneously reducing costs and disciplinary problems. Although I will be concentrating on BVE, the neighborhood reading program that I will outline is well suited to the Hispanic community also. The primary difference for Hispanics would lie in the bilingual nature of their neighborhood language arts programs.

McDavid (1964) was one of the first to draw an analogy between the pedagogical problems of Blacks and Hispanics. With the obvious advantage of hindsight, we now know that his views were oversimplified because bilinguals and bidialectals warrant different strategies in pursuit of the same educational goals. McDavid's objectives were nevertheless the same that we seek today; he recognized that children who are raised in the United States will achieve their maximum potential only if they master Standard English and the related language arts. And because McDavid was raised in the South, he demonstrated an acute sensitivity to bidialectalism:

> I grew up in a South Carolina community where we said there were three races: Whites, Negroes, and cottonmill workers. Anyone who knows the situation in southern textiles knows exactly what I am talking about. Here we had White and Black separated by caste lines. We also had an industrial system of the closed mill village, the closed

> employment situation with the company store selling, on credit, everything from contraceptives to coffins, and we had separate, segregated schools for the cotton mills. In this community we could see a number of social differences in dialects. We learned, very easily, that certain vowels were identified with poor Whites, the Hillbillies, and their derivatives, the cottonmill workers. We knew that there was a rural White speech--not Hillbilly--which nice but unassuming people used. We knew that, in the city, not only were there differences in White speech and Negro speech; we even learned that many of the more intelligent Negroes were bidialectal. That is, when they were speaking to the upper classes they would use one mode and when they were speaking back in the kitchen or to the yard man, they would use another. (p. 4)

Again, with the advantage of hindsight, we can also take strong exception to the assumption that mastery of bidialectalism is a direct reflection of "greater" intelligence. My own research suggests that mastery of (Black) Standard English* requires two primary factors: (1) extensive interaction with standard speakers and (2) a positive--or at the very least, neutral--attitude toward standard speech. Some Blacks have even been in the forefront of heightening negative attitudes toward BVE (see Hall and Freedle, 1975).

---

*Orlando Taylor and Mary Hoover have been largely responsible for the dissemination of the term "Standard Black English." The initial use of the concept provided an important contrast to vernacular (i.e., nonstandard) speech patterns, but in-depth analyses indicate a more complicated picture, where standardized Black dialects are highly diversified for social, regional, and individual reasons. For my purpose here, it is best to think of these standardized dialects as the speech that is used by Blacks who hold professional positions and/or have extensive personal contact with standard English speakers.

These opinions have thrived for years in a fertile climate of racism, but their foundations are quite weak once we recognize that they are largely perpetuated through popular mythology.

McDavid (1964) suggested that foreign-language teaching techniques be used with speakers of nonstandard English. In response to McDavid's remarks, Einar Haugen stressed that mastering bidialectalism is more difficult because the linguistic distinctions are so subtle. Thus, when we are taught a new language, we generally learn an entirely new system, grammatically, morphologically, and phonologically. But in a bidialectal system, there are tremendous linguistic similarities, and the differences, while readily detected by native speakers of the language, are not the same as for the person who is learning a new language.

Partially for this reason, several programs that used foreign-language approaches met with minimal success. Students were often confused when teachers tried to distinguish sounds that were undergoing linguistic change. For example, when I was a student, teachers spent an enormous amount of time concentrating on the differences between *pin* and *pen*. While I have no real argument with teaching this difference, students usually did not get a complete picture because these same vowels are merging (i.e., losing their phonemic distinction) in other linguistic environments. For a word like *men*, which can be pronounced as /mɛn/ or /mɪn/ without any change in meaning, the vowel distinction is not important. Consequently, students may not understand why the *pin*/*pen* distinction is important; after all, many words have quite different meanings without different pronunciations (e.g., *trunk*). Students seldom get the full picture, so they usually get confused. But blame should not be directed at teachers, because they usually get misinformation as well.

Once we see the distinction between bilingualism and bidialectalism, dialect readers might seem to be a logical instructional alternative. However, dialect readers (i.e., books written in nonstandard dialect) seem inadequate for the educational needs of Black children, and, upon close examination, they are often more complicated than their standardized equivalent. There are several reasons why I take this position, but one should suffice for my purpose here. In order to have an adequate writing system for BVE, the dialect must be standardized so that readers and writers can know what the writing conventions are. Because of obvious historical pressures, Black American dialects are among the most diversified--and rapidly changing--in the United States. It would therefore be tremendously difficult to establish a national (or regional) BVE, complete with dictionary, adequate grammatical descriptions, etc.

Stewart (1964) was one of the strongest proponents of dialect readers, but the Black community strongly objected to his proposals. Most parents that I have interviewed feel that their children's education would be excessively retarded if they were taught with dialect readers. All of the Black adults that I have interviewed over the past nine years concur with this opinion. As a group, they have expressed the categorical feeling that Black children should be serious about getting an education, and in America that is a traditional education in Standard English.

Finally, Labov (1972) painted a fairly dismal picture of the educational plight of Black children, and like Abrahams and Gay (1972) he attributed most of these differences to cultural factors. The factors that Labov saw as being needed in a successful program are discussed at greater length later in this paper. As a linguist I concur with Labov's (1981) observation that linguists can contribute to the alleviation of language-related problems. This is particularly true in the United States, where our culturally pluralistic history has given birth to numerous ethnic and regional dialects. Our folk mythology has in turn provided us with strong opinions about who speaks properly and who does not. However, it is best to view speech as a marginal indicator of intelligence. Some societies judge wisdom by the length of silence; such cultures are in direct conflict with the value judgments that most Americans attribute to "eloquent" speakers.

The ultimate objective of the National Neighborhood Literacy Program (NNLP) is to provide community groups with access to elementary language arts skills. Because such a program will use volunteers, the final structure must accommodate the needs of all who want to improve their language arts skills--even adult volunteers who have not yet mastered reading themselves. For Black Americans the needs are dual: the NNLP must be structured so that skills can be taught in a highly motivating atmosphere; and, in consonance with the objectives of Holt and Simpkins (1974), the program must have mastery of the standard language arts as its ultimate goal.

DESIGN OF FLEXIBLE NEIGHBORHOOD LANGUAGE ARTS PROGRAMS

As suggested previously, one of the main reasons that it is difficult to operate effective language arts programs is largely cultural, but there are additional individual realities as well. Many adults have great difficulty reading, and this is usually embarrassing to them. Two anecdotes from my own field work illustrate this kind of frustration.

I conducted most of my fieldwork while I was employed as a lifeguard, and in order to qualify for that position I needed to take some classes with the American Red Cross. My awareness of adult reading problems came about during one of the first-aid courses. A common practice in Red Cross training is for students to read the material aloud to one another. This practice insures that all students will know the text, even if they do not read it on their own time. The assumption underlying such a procedure, however, is that the students in these courses already know how to read; this was not the case with my first-aid course in Philadelphia. A woman in her late 50's would develop a terrible hacking cough every time the group reading began. The cough, of course, prevented her from being able to read, but this cough lasted only as long as the reading period, and no symptoms would appear until just before it was time to read.

Another gentleman, in his mid 50's, would make jokes during his turn to read. Bob (a pseudonym) was a World War II veteran who worked as an ambulance driver. His personal image was that of a dedicated soldier, and he was committed to doing any job that was assigned to him. But when it came to reading, he resorted to a jocular attitude, which was atypical of his normal serious demeanor. The jokes were an obvious attempt to mask his difficulties with the text. These ploys were painful to watch, and I can only imagine the personal anguish that existed as part of the actual masquerade. It is nevertheless quite understandable why most adult Americans are presumed to have mastered the basics of reading and writing--because those who have not often hide their inability to read and write.

In some of my recent research on Standard Black English, I asked a series of questions on "how to become a successful person." A frequent answer was that children need to receive help with their studies. With educated parents (like my own, who both hold doctoral degrees), children are able to receive some direct--and accurate--assistance at home. Others have been forced to "make it on their own." The problem is somewhat paradoxical because all concerned parents want their children to get a good education, yet they themselves may not be comfortably able to lend the supportive advice that can make the classroom teacher's job easier.

Most of the parents that I have interviewed hope their children will learn the skills they need at school, and many parents seek help for their children if they cannot provide it themselves. This community assistance process has existed in pockets of Black communities for years, but the process has not been systematic, and many talented people who would like to help educate Black and other minority children have not been fully utilized.

The NNLP, therefore, proposes to assist these groups in their home setting. Three objectives can be filled with an effective support network of community volunteers. These volunteers--Community Reading Counselors--would assist teachers in much the same manner that paramedics assist doctors. The following benefits are envisioned:

1. Teachers will benefit directly if adults in the community are able to give their students educational support.

2. Many adults who have not had adequate opportunities to learn basic language arts skills can do so with minimal chance for personal embarrassment.

3. In relation to (2), the training of the Community Reading Counselors (CRC's) must be structured so that reading is not a prerequisite for being a CRC volunteer, although beginning CRC's will be teaching very elementary concepts (e.g., being certified to teach the English alphabet, or certified to teach long and short vowels).

Mackler (1980) has outlined some of the basic components for cooperative neighborhood education, and readers are advised to consult his original work for a more thorough discussion of how a community-based program can be structured. One vital addition to Mackler's observations needs to be made clear. While Mackler sees the school as the locus for this type of community program, I think that other organizations are in an excellent position to help as well. For example, SWRL and the Center for Applied Linguistics have traditionally provided information to concerned educators and scholars. These research centers could also assist school districts, P.T.A.'s, church groups, Girl Scout groups, or YMCA's in structuring their own neighborhood reading/writing programs. While I agree with Mackler in his call for a cooperative venture, we must take care to approach adults in any community-based program with sensitivity to their needs.

The nature of contemporary education is such that most children have one opportunity to learn how to read, and if they miss that chance, then their opportunities in adult life are severely limited. Since few programs have addressed this problem in an ethnosensitive manner, I would like to suggest that one of the best ways in which we can help adults is by showing them how they can help their children, grandchildren, and friends. By making their commitment to the children, adults would--in all probability--be more highly motivated to learn than if only their personal concerns were at stake. By beginning with elementary concepts and then gradually moving on to more difficult skills, the CRC's will reap the added benefits that all teachers experience--reinforcement of their own language arts skills through teaching what they have learned.

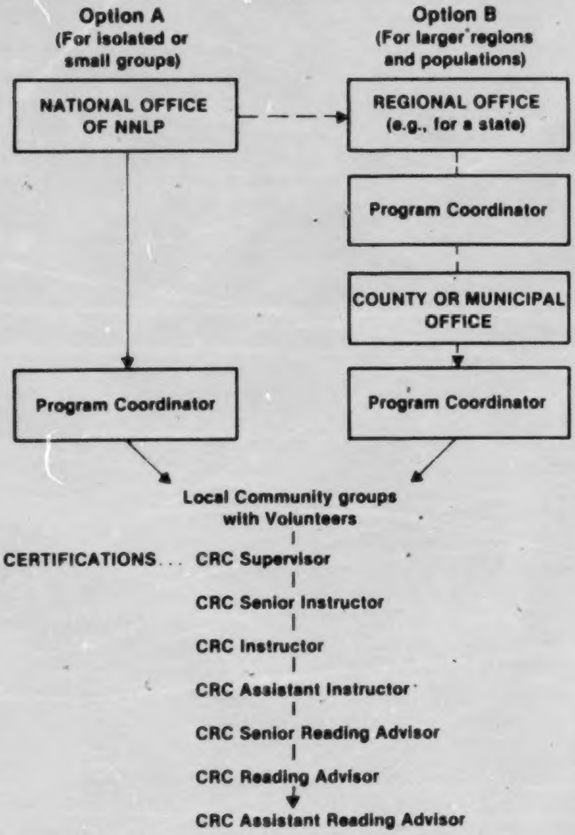
Linguists, educators, and anthropologists should be able to assist in this process through their interdisciplinary research. Thus, an organization with large funds will, of course, have options that are not available to those with limited funds. In any event, the job of the national coordinators will be to advise different groups on their particular options for the NNLP. Regardless of the community, however, each group should develop a program that is effective for its own purpose.

In an effort to make a gradual transition from the macro to the micro perspective, let us assume for the moment that such an organization is in place, as illustrated in Figure 1.

The local program coordinators would be given a variety of options for the type of materials that would be used with various students, and these same volunteers would have opportunities to work directly with

Figure 1

A Tentative Organizational Framework for a National Neighborhood Literacy Program*


Option A
(For isolated or small groups)
Option B
(For larger regions and populations)
NATIONAL OFFICE OF NNLP
REGIONAL OFFICE (e.g., for a state)
Program Coordinator
COUNTY OR MUNICIPAL OFFICE
Program Coordinator
Program Coordinator
Local Community groups with Volunteers
CERTIFICATIONS . . .
CRC Supervisor
CRC Senior Instructor
CRC Instructor
CRC Assistant Instructor
CRC Senior Reading Advisor
CRC Reading Advisor
CRC Assistant Reading Advisor

---

*Options A and B are dictated by the number of students and volunteers that are participating in the program. Thus, in neighborhoods where no municipal or regional offices exist, community groups can contact the national program coordinator directly. Each local branch is staffed by certified volunteers, as illustrated above. Every volunteer is given the title of Community Reading Counselor, and subtitles convey their related rank within this local group.

parents as well. The CRC's would receive some type of formal certification similar to the cards that are distributed by the American Red Cross for their courses, and each certificate would indicate what each CRC is qualified to teach.

At this point I would like to examine the ethnographic benefits of such a program for teachers, parents, and students. We must always keep sight of the teacher's need to provide traditional educational skills. The challenge lies in meeting these needs with adequate motivational rewards. Labov (1972) recommended that adult Black males, around the age of 25, be placed in the schools to help teachers with a variety of needs. Disciplinary problems comprise a clear example of how community assistance can be rendered. Because the NNLP is a voluntary program, disciplinary problems will be reduced by the extracurricular nature of the program. Those students who participate in such a program will have the advantage of more individual attention, and the CRC's will also have the option of serving as an informal information network for interested parties (e.g., schools, churches, etc.).

The ultimate success of these programs, however, will depend on the creativity of sensitive scholars and educators, because we will need to make learning fun if students are going to be genuinely motivated. Most of us who have already learned how to read and write have done so with considerable effort, and we now take archaic spellings and other linguistic inconsistencies in proper (historical) stride. But the tasks of reading and writing can seem quite abstract to minority students who do not receive the necessary incentives to stimulate their interests right now.

In a program like the NNLP, the CRC's would conduct a series of educational competitions, and suitable prizes would be awarded periodically for students who perform successfully. This practice has already met with much success in Bell's (1980) Colorphonics pilot study in Austin, Texas. While the concept of immediate reward for successful performance is not new, the use of modest rewards for non-traditional students has not been fully exploited. In addition, private businesses can sponsor local NNLP contests for possible tax benefits, etc. My own experience illustrates the value of competition. When I was a student, school was considered to be a very serious matter, and games were reserved for recess. But only on the playground did I, and other Black youths, encounter the stimulation of competition with our peers. I would like to suggest that this healthy competition can be directed for positive pedagogical use, and that students are better served if this competition prepares them for the inevitable pressures of adult life.

LYRIC SHUFFLE: A GAME FOR TEACHING SENTENCE STRUCTURE

At this point I suspect that the reader might be a bit skeptical. After all, others have claimed that reading and writing should be fun, and they have failed with alarming regularity. My suggestion is a simple one: Try the game yourself with your students. Preliminary research at The University of Texas at Austin suggests that you will be pleased with the positive results in your students' attitudes and with their academic performance. This portion of the paper describes a series of games that combine music, lyrics, and the individual words of the lyrics as a basis for teaching reading and writing. The combination of these components is the foundation of the Lyric Shuffle games (see Appendix).

The games presented here are viewed as a "supplementary reading system," and my remarks will focus on pedagogical application. While Lyric Shuffle is designed to be adapted to the needs of students with varying degrees of reading proficiency, it is best to begin with the implications that affect remedial readers. Labov's (1972) article titled "The relations of reading failure to peer-group status" notes five components that need to be addressed when teaching nonstandard speakers (presumably members of minority groups) how to read:

1. To acquaint the teacher with the specific interests of members of the class and help design reading materials centering on the interests.

2. To provide effective rewards and punishments that will motivate members of the street culture for whom normal school sanctions are irrelevant.

3. To lead group discussion on topics of immediate concern to members of the class.

4. To lead boys in sports and other recreational activities in school time.

5. To maintain contact with boys outside of school, on the streets, and help organize extracurricular activities.

(Labov, 1972, p. 254)

Lyric Shuffle is designed to attack the first three concerns directly by using entertaining games that can be structured for coherent classroom (or private) use. The strength of Lyric Shuffle lies in its flexibility to accommodate the needs of both elementary and advanced readers, and, if combined with other games that teach vowels and consonants (like "Fun-emics" or "Colorphonics"), it can have direct applicability to the more difficult tasks of teaching nonstandard (or non-English) users. English is used here only for the sake of illustration, because with slight modification Lyric Shuffle can be used in monolingual classes, in general bilingual education, and for teaching English as a second language. Again, Lyric Shuffle will serve students with varying degrees of reading proficiency in each of these categories.

General Procedures

Different games are outlined in more specific detail in the Appendix; however, the common elements of the games are outlined here. Under the direction of a trained teacher (or some other supervisor), students are provided with copies of the lyrics of music that they are about to hear. Students are therefore able to hear the music at the same time as they are examining their personal copy of the lyrics. As the song is being played to the students, the teacher/supervisor simultaneously identifies the words as they are sung by the artist; an overhead projector or some other technique can be used for this purpose. Once the song has been played, students are provided with (or write their own) word lists consisting of the vocabulary in the corresponding lyrics. Word cards (i.e., flash cards) can also be used. Any words that are repeated in the lyrics (e.g., within the chorus) appear only once on the word list/word cards.

All of the Lyric Shuffle games have a basic common component: The games require students to rearrange the words to form new sentences, new poems/lyrics, or an original (short) story. Therefore, depending on the reading ability of the student, the task can be adjusted to fit the needs of the individual student. As students gain proficiency, the complexity of the games can be increased to present new challenges, and more importantly, the more advanced versions of Lyric Shuffle will introduce new language arts skills.

Many other supplementary systems concentrate exclusively on reading as receptive behavior, that is, to the exclusion of writing; however, Lyric Shuffle bridges the gap between reading and writing by combining elements of both into each game. This creative writing component represents the variety of games that can be structured for individual students and for small teams (3 or 4 members) in a contest format. Lyric Shuffle contests can serve to motivate students to perform at their maximum potential, and team play can use peer-group support as another means of motivation.

In general terms, then, student tasks involve the manipulation of the available vocabulary to form new sentences and/or stories, which are directly associated with the words that appear in the lyrics of the song being studied. Again, these games can be adapted to fit lyrics for music from any era, in any language. Reviewed below are the implications of Lyric Shuffle games with respect to Labov's observation that effective rewards and punishment are important considerations for teaching nontraditional students.

Motivation Through Popularity

Educators alone cannot hope to address all five of Labov's (1972) components simultaneously, but Lyric Shuffle addresses the first three components in a manner that can be controlled in a classroom setting with careful music selection.

Interests of group members. In classes where students represent a (sub)culturally cohesive group, a careful selection of popular music can serve as a direct source of interest. The popularity of the music is essential to the success of the overall system, and the new music that is always being produced is a ready source of new reading material for the Lyric Shuffle games. The music that is being used with Lyric Shuffle should be constantly updated to ensure that the music keeps pace with changing student tastes. As has been the case with Bell's (1980) "Colorphonics," song selection should be handled with care, especially when young children are playing these games. When possible, participation from the private sector could include direct affiliation with various performers; appropriate arrangements could be completed through contractual agreements.

Effective rewards. Contests, prizes, and team competitions represent a foundation of incentives for students to perform Lyric Shuffle with speed and accuracy. A variety of modest prizes could be awarded to reinforce both good behavior and language arts skills. As stated, remedial students can perform simple tasks, like forming a single new sentence from the lyrics of a song. And as proficiency grows, so too will the complexity of the corresponding Lyric Shuffle game, thereby expanding to complement each student's creative potential.

Group discussion. Because popular lyrics are usually a part of the student's home environment, the content (e.g., semantic interpretation) of the lyrics can be discussed with respect to a variety of linguistic questions. Under the supervision of a trained instructor, students can discuss specific words, (e.g., their spelling and pronunciation) and the meaning of the lyrics as a whole. Again, this aspect of the procedure can be utilized with students at all levels of reading proficiency. By conducting general discussions for each new song, teachers can use the music as a vehicle to introduce students to difficult linguistic topics like ambiguity, homonomy, and synonomy.

Compatibility with Other Games: The Problem of Elementary Phonics

Those students who are new to reading or who have failed to learn how to read must first learn some elementary phonic relationships (i.e., the correspondence between sounds and their orthographic representations). Dorothy Lee (Lee & Scott, 1978) has developed just such a game, called "Fun-emics"; J. Michael Bell's (1980) "Colorphonics" also examines some of the vowel representations. In short, elementary students will need to learn the basic orthographic representations for their language in order to play Lyric Shuffle games with ease. Once students have learned the basic vowels and consonants, more stimulating assignments will be necessary, and it is within this context that Lyric Shuffle provides an expandable system. Each student's creative rearrangement of lyrics will represent a personal achievement; in addition, for many students Lyric Shuffle will present an attractive alternative to more traditional composition assignments.

Advanced Students: Morphological Options

At the more advanced stages of reading, the principles of Lyric Shuffle can be extended to other word parts (e.g., prefixes, suffixes, and tense markings). Thus, for advanced students the games can, in every instance, be played using words and parts of words. Moreover, the advanced stages of Lyric Shuffle will eventually require the very same traditional standards that are necessary for writing within the larger society; however, these games are designed to develop reading and writing skills as a gradual process.

Summary of Lyric Shuffle

The procedures that are outlined here represent a means of using music, from any era and in any language, as material to teach reading and writing. The specific objective is to provide an entertaining format in which students can improve their language arts skills. With slight modification, the procedures can be applied to both remedial and advanced readers. These games can complement any existing reading system and provide an attractive alternative for instructors as well. Lyric Shuffle games should be up-dated frequently to keep pace with the changing tastes in music; this flexibility will maintain the interest of nontraditional students. Finally, I want to again stress that these procedures can be adapted to the needs of students in monolingual classes, in bilingual education, and in English as a second language.

CONCLUSION

This outline of a community-based language arts program is intended to be suggestive more than anything else. Each community and social organization will need to determine its own requirements and resources. The scope of the problem is clearly national, and it is for this reason that I have chosen to refer to this concept as the National Neighborhood Literacy Program. Like the American Red Cross, this program can be staffed with highly motivated volunteers, who, based on their talents, can obtain certification to teach increasingly more difficult aspects of the language arts skills.

Lyric Shuffle has been presented as an example of a highly motivational game that can be used to teach sentence structure. Depending on the needs of the Community Reading Counselors and teachers, other games can be adapted to meet the needs of students. My objectives here are to provide teachers and interested laypeople with a tool that can be used immediately and to offer tentative suggestions as to how to meet the educational needs of minority children in a supportive community environment.

Although we are concentrating on writing needs here, the feeding and bleeding nature of language arts skills must be acknowledged. Writing will, of course, help reading, and vice versa. The NNLP takes this into account by meeting the needs of two neglected minorities: classroom teachers and motivated adults who have not yet mastered their reading and writing skills.

As I see it, the analogy of the American Red Cross is supported in contemporary society, where technological advances are widening the gap between professional and illiterate populations. Just as Clara Barton recognized that wounded soldiers needed to be bandaged, I recognize that the legacy of illiteracy among minority groups results in social wounds, which masquerade as a cultural disease that is passed from generation to generation. Black Americans have historically supported each other whenever it was possible, and the concept of a National Neighborhood Literacy Program is consistent with that tradition.

APPENDIX

AN OUTLINE OF LYRIC SHUFFLE GAMES

For the sake of brevity and illustration, I will outline some general principles for four different games. At this stage of development I am not concerned with a formal exposition of rules and point scoring; rather, I will outline a series of games that can and should be modified by instructors and/or the players themselves. As indicated previously, these games can be adapted to the needs of three types of students--monolinguals, bilinguals, and those students being taught English as a second language. From a purely linguistic point of view, Lyric Shuffle manipulates words and/or morphemes that are derived from the lyrics of popular music. This game does not attempt to teach phonics, and players are presumed to have an elementary understanding of the orthographic representation of the language they will be using.

It would be counterproductive for me to attempt to designate which game is best suited to either elementary or advanced students; this decision will ultimately depend on the individual players. Rather, I will outline the simplest games first and will gradually introduce the more complicated versions. The final decision to play one version as opposed to another can, of course, be modified based on actual player performance. What follows, then, are some simple instructions for how one would complete a series of games. In some instances it will be useful to specify distinctions between individual and team performance, but, for the most part, these games are designed to be played with a balance of individual and team play.

Game 1: Sentence Shuffle

Sentence shuffle can be played by individuals or teams of up to four players. The basic game requires that players roll dice to determine the number of words that will appear in the sentence that they are about to create. They then create a new sentence, using the vocabulary from the lyrics and the number of words that appeared on the dice. Points may be applied or subtracted, depending on the roll of the dice.

Students, either as individuals or as rotating members of teams, roll the dice twice to determine the number of words per sentence that the student must create. The student therefore has two options, with the exception of when the same number is rolled twice. Points are given based on the number of words in a sentence, where longer sentences receive more points through the use of more words. The primary, and important, exception occurs when students roll "snake eyes"; it is very difficult to construct sentences with only two words. This accomplishment is given 12 points. The final score is, of course, based on the accumulation of points for successful completion of the task. As students become more proficient, the task can be timed, beginning perhaps with three minutes and gradually decreasing the time to one minute. Students keep personal records of their performance on individual score cards.

Game 2: Poet Shuffle

Poet shuffle is viewed as an individual game, which can optionally be played with dice. In either version, the player determines how many lines will appear in a new poem (or new lyrics). Since poetry requires greater writing skills, players have the option to use the corresponding vocabulary without the quantitative restrictions that are imposed when they roll the dice.

Advanced students should be encouraged to be creative with available prefixes and suffixes as well. As with Game 1, students can compete within specific time frames, thereby structuring the game to suit classroom requirements.

Game 3: Song Shuffle

Students should have a folder or some means of keeping their lyric sheets and word lists. As new songs are accumulated, additional games can be created that utilize aspects of Games 1 and 2, using additional words from more than one song. In this instance, the individual/team rolls the dice, say, two or three times to determine which songs are to be combined. Thus, if each song sheet is numbered, students can reproduce Games 1 and 2 employing the vocabulary of more than one song. The complexity of this kind of vocabulary mixing can be managed as long as each individual song is assigned a number so that it can be randomly selected by rolls of the dice. Scoring would be similar to that for Games 1 and 2.

Game 4: Story Shuffle

When Lyric Shuffle is adopted for classroom use, the final assignment for the semester and/or school year can be played by both individuals and teams. As envisioned, this would be the final assignment for students at all levels (i.e., elementary/remedial, intermediate, and advanced). Players could use all of the vocabulary that is available from the songs in hand. Thus, if story shuffle is played with four songs, the vocabulary will be more restricted than if the same game is played later in the school year with 12 songs. Teams and individual players are required to write a (short) story based on the words that are available, without restrictions regarding sentence length, etc. Thus, story shuffle represents a specialized composition assignment, but the scope of the assignment is determined by the popular music that the students enjoy.

REFERENCES

Abrahams, R. D., & Gay, G. Black culture in the classroom. In R. Abrahams & R. Troike (Eds.), Language and cultural diversity in American education. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972.

Bell, J. M. Colorphonics: An audiovisual vowel identification program for remedial readers. Allen, TX: DLM, 1980.

Hall, W., & Freedle, R. Culture and language: The Black American experience. Washington, DC: Hemisphere Publication Company, 1975.

Holt, G., & Simpkins, G. Bridge: A transitional reading program for Black students who speak nonstandard English. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974.

Labov, W. Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English Vernacular. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.

Labov, W. Objectivity and commitment in linguistic science: The case of the Black English trial in Ann Arbor. Unpublished manuscript, 1981.

Lee, D., & Scott, J. Fun-emics: A game for teaching phonemes in English. Unpublished manuscript. Austin: Department of Linguistics, University of Texas, 1978.

Mackler, B. Cooperation and community: Reflection on a model of urban education. Journal of Negro Education, 1980, 49, 60-66.

McDavid, R. Social dialects: Cause or symptom of social maladjustment. In R. Shuy (Ed.), Social dialects and language learning. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1964.

Stewart, W. Urban Negro speech: Sociolinguistic factors affecting English teaching. In R. Shuy (Ed.), _Social dialects and language learning_. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1964.

SPANISH-ENGLISH BILINGUALISM IN THE SOUTHWEST

Maryellen García
National Center for Bilingual Research

Spanish-English bilingualism in the Southwest is a very complex phenomenon. Even if we limit Spanish-English bilingual speakers to those of Mexican ancestry in the United States, we are still including over six million people.* This group ranges in linguistic ability from those who are productively monolingual in English with a passive understanding of Spanish to those who are productively monolingual in Spanish with perhaps some "survival" comprehension and production skills in English. Yet even those monolinguals should be included in this discussion of Spanish-English bilingualism in the Southwest, as should those Mexican-Americans who have made their way out of the Southwest to such places as Detroit, Chicago, and Milwaukee. Their inclusion is called for because of the cohesiveness of the socio-cultural community, and because the societal bilingualism of the community reflects a common ethnic and linguistic background.

---

*Hernández-Chavéz et al. (1975, p. v) report "upwards of six million Spanish speakers in the southwestern states." Macías (1979), using figures from the 1976 National Center for Education Statistics survey, reports the population of Mexican origin in the United States to be 6,797,000.

The description of the linguistic repertoire of this bilingual community is complicated by the fact that Mexican-Americans have been in this country both a very long time--before it was this country, in fact--and a very short time. Spanish speakers have been in the Southwest since the late 1500's in New Mexico,* where they may categorize themselves as Hispanic or Spanish-speaking, and yet more recent immigrants have just received their papers--arreglado los papeles--to come here legally. Mexican-Americans are bound together by a common ancestral language--a European one, since their Indian languages were not encouraged in la madre patria, the mother country. They are bound by a common reason for being here, that is, better economic opportunities for themselves and their families. Usually their initial work experience in this country has been in low status jobs in industry, manual labor, and agriculture. Finally, Mexican-Americans are bound by their physical heritage: usually a brown skin and Indian features that make them look different from other Americans. The linguistic problems faced by the first and succeeding generations of Mexicans in the United States adds another dimension to this sense of community.

The great degree of variability of individual bilingualism for Mexicans in the United States should be kept in mind as the generational chart, shown as Figure 1, is discussed. This chart presents an idealization of the linguistic repertoires of these generations. In accounting for actual language use, the specific linguistic norms of geographically identifiable speech communities should be taken into account, as should appropriateness rules for the use of each of the codes, determined by the situational context of a conversation.

---

*A Spanish colonization party reached what became New Mexico in 1598, according to Bills (1975).

Figure 1

English-Spanish Bilingualism: Linguistic Repertoires of Successive Generations of Speakers of Mexican Heritage

	ENGLISH	LANGUAGE MIXING	SPANISH
First generation	Interference from Spanish • phonology • false cognates • syntax	Code-shifting from Spanish to English if ability allows	Standard Mexican Spanish • southern norms • northern norms Rural Mexican Spanish
Second Generation	Chicano English—community norms for English • pronunciation • expressions	Code-switching Code-shifting other terms: Spanglish Tex-Mex Pocho Spanish	Southwest Spanish (Chicano Spanish) Specialized argot • Pachuco/Caló
Third generation	English according to local norms May have Chicano English characteristics	Code-switching from Spanish to English (may indicate limited fluency in Spanish)	Southwest Spanish • words, phrases • specialized uses

THE FIRST GENERATION

As we see from Figure 1, the first generation has the problem of learning English.* The first generation needs oral English for basic communication in public places. However, even this much English is not necessary if the surrounding community is also Spanish speaking, and if there are shopkeepers and others who meet the immigrants' basic needs. In my current fieldwork in a Los Angeles suburb, I spoke with a monolingual Spanish speaker about the change in English-language demands on her in her immediate neighborhood. She said that the people in the local shopping center--the cleaners, Mario's Tacos, the store, and the collection person for the electric company--all could speak Spanish now, and she didn't have to wait for her husband to do all the errands for her. My grandmothers have lived in this same suburb for the past 25 years and still do not speak English, although they can understand much of it because of their bilingual children.

The English of first-generation speakers is likely to be heavily influenced by their Spanish. As a former ESL teacher, I can attest to the fact that if you get adult learners to say *volleyball* correctly, you have won a phonological battle, because Spanish has no /b/-/v/ phonemic contrast. The vowel difference between *hat* and *hot* needs to be reinforced semantically, because of the five-vowel system of Spanish as opposed to the basic nine-vowel system of English. False cognates must be discouraged, such as "cultured" (*culto*) for English "educated." Syntactic interference may be exemplified by the following sentences, translations of their Spanish equivalents:

---

*The first generation consists of the immigrants who are the first to live in the United States; the second generation consists of those who are born in this country; and so on.

This is the first time I come to this class.
"Es la primera vez que vengo a esta clase."

I haven't been here since five years (ago).
"No he estado aquí hace cinco años."

It makes five years that I haven't been
here.
"Hace cinco años que no estoy aquí."

How many years do you have?
"¿Cuántos años tienes?"

The Spanish of the first generation is presumably not a problem, since it tends to be used in non-formal domains such as the home and the community, and speakers are therefore not viewed negatively if theirs is a non-prescriptive dialect. First-generation Mexicans who speak both English and Spanish may shift from one language to another for whole stretches of discourse, but do not do the rapid, intrasentential switching that we see in the second generation.

THE SECOND GENERATION

For the second generation, language use is more problematical, being very closely linked with cultural identity, which needs to be maintained in the face of the rapid acculturation expected in the United States. Because language ability may directly affect academic achievement, career choice, and economic mobility, it can also determine an individual's sense of personal success or failure in life. The second-generation speaker has a range of linguistic varieties available. There is the home dialect of Spanish, which may be standard Spanish, a rural or other non-standard vernacular, or an English-influenced Southwest Spanish. There is English-Spanish code-shifting (intersentential) or code-switching (intrasentential), the latter a speaking style that functions to show ethnic in-group solidarity in some speech communities. And finally there is English, which is acquired in the school and usually in the community as well.

The English of the second generation (often called "Chicano English") may differ among local communities. In Los Angeles, for example, /ɛ/ lowers almost to /æ/ before syllable final /l/ in stressed syllables, so "elevator" becomes "alevator" and "helicopter" becomes "halicopter." Some syntactic norms may be different from those of non-Chicano speakers, such as in the following sentences:

Your dad is coming home until five o'clock.
"Your dad isn't coming home until five o'clock."

We made her a party.
"We threw a party for her."
Or, "We gave a party for her."

They put him a cast on his leg.
"They put a cast on him."
Or, "They put a cast on his leg."

A Los Angeles native, Richard "Cheech" Marin (of the comedy team Cheech and Chong), uses Chicano English to great comic effect in his routines and movies. His English is characterized by a unique local intonation and is liberally sprinkled with formulaic Spanish expressions. The underlined terms show in-group solidarity when used to greet friends: "How are you, ese?" "Good to see you, pendejo." Rough translations are: "How are you, man?" "Good to see you, stupid jerk."

Southwest Spanish and code-switching between English and Spanish have been looked down upon by many educators--Southwest Spanish because it is heavily influenced by English, although it shows the normal characteristics of linguistic change in a language-contact situation, and code-switching because to many it seems a hybrid of two languages and not truly one or the other. These negative judgments are reflected in the terms in Figure 1: Tex-Mex, Spanglish, and Pocho Spanish. The horizontal brace linking the two categories indicates that there is a true confusion of what is meant by these terms in the literature as well as by the Spanish speakers who use the terms. Linguistically, the terms have little meaning, but they are often used as pejorative labels for speech varieties that can be otherwise described.

Figure 2

Intrasentential Code-Switching

(from Valdés, 1976; Spanish is in italics)

(1)	
Susie: Is he coming back?	"Is he coming back?"
Friend: Well, that's what he said. He said he's coming down in about two weeks *para ir a una corrida de toros. Dice que* the way he feels right now, you know, he doesn't care who bullfights. (unclear) Eloy Cabazos or nobody. Even if it's a calf, I'll come and see it, see somebody bullfight a calf. So he's going to be coming down in about two weeks. And he says he's been real busy *haciendo adobes para una casa que está haciendo y comprando* supplies.	"Well, that's what he said. He said he's coming down in about two weeks to go to a bullfight. He says that the way he feels right now, you know, he doesn't care who bullfights. (unclear) Eloy Cabazos or nobody. Even if it's a calf, I'll come and see it, see somebody bullfight a calf. So he's going to be coming down in about two weeks. And he says he's been real busy making adobes for a house he's building and buying supplies."
(2)	
Susie: *Oyes*, in two weeks that would be the sixth?	"Listen (hey), in two weeks that would be the sixth?"
Friend: Fourth of July weekend, *pero no me dijo exactamente cuando*...	"Fourth of July weekend, but he didn't say exactly when... "
(3)	
Susie: *Porque si viene, si van ustedes al* bullfight *ese día, ese domingo*, I might be there, because my friend and her husband are bringing her *suegros*. Her *suegros* are from Tennessee *y los van a traer y quieren llevarlos a una corrida de toros*. So... we... she wrote to me yesterday and asked me find out if there is a bullfight.	"Because if he comes, if you all go to the bullfight that day, that Sunday, I might be there, because my friend and her husband are bringing her in-laws. Her in-laws are from Tennessee and they're going to bring them and they want to take them to a bullfight. So... we... she wrote to me yesterday and asked me to find out if there is a bullfight."

Intrasentential code-switching is a speech style in which the switch is rule-governed and not random. The discourse segments in Figure 2, taken from the work of Valdés (1976), exemplify this speech style.* The phrases or words that are switched comprise syntactic units. In the first example of a switch, in discourse segment (1), the phrase in Spanish is a purpose clause which is maintained in Spanish; it would be ungrammatical to say ". . . two weeks para go to a corrida de bulls." Likewise, the last phrase in segment (2) is maintained as a whole in Spanish; it would be ungrammatical to say ". . . weekend, pero no me said exactly cuando." The preposed indirect object pronoun me and the verb dijo must stay in the same language. Some words can be switched in the middle of a phrase--nouns which may be culturally or conceptually more appropriate in one language than the other, or which may simply be easier to say, e.g., "bullfight" for corrida de toros and suegros for "in-laws" in (3).

Figure 1 shows Southwest Spanish, also called Chicano Spanish in the literature, as one of the codes in the second-generation bilingual's repertoire. Again, these labels are convenient simplifications. Because the Spanish language has been here so long, and successive migrations of Spanish-speaking people have continued to come "north from Mexico," the popularly spoken local vernaculars in the United States are variable phonologically, lexically, and syntactically. In the literature, Colorado and New Mexico are singled out as being bastions of Spanish archaisms. For example, old verb forms such as vide for vi "I saw" and truje for traje "I brought" are noted. The other Southwestern states tend to be less conservative, as they are more obviously in the path of the Mexican migration northward, through Texas and Arizona and across to California, and are thus continuously exposed to new generations of Spanish speakers.

---

*In the article from which this example was taken, Valdés (1976) examines reasons behind the code-switches for each stretch of discourse.

The extended discourse in Figure 3--Cabrestea o se Ahorca, "Bend or Break" (Rodríguez, 1938)--exemplifies various characteristics of the second-generation Spanish dialect.* It is a dialogue between a Mexican and a Mexican-American that was performed in the traveling tent shows of the 30's, with Mexicans poking fun at the way Mexican-Americans speak.** The influence of English on this dialect of Spanish is evident in the borrowings (e.g., chor "short," mofle "muffler"), loan translations (e.g., se backeaba pa tras "would go back") and semantic extensions of some Spanish words (e.g. arrendo "driving (a car)" from arrear "to drive (a team of horses)"). Also found in this dialogue are elements of Pachuco (also called Caló)--the Spanish slang of the pachucos, Mexican-American youths who added their own innovations to an argot that gained popularity in the 1940's.***

---

*For an overview of the characteristic features of the dialect, I recommend Sanchéz (1972). For an overview of the present state of research on the English and Spanish of Hispanos in the United States, I recommend Bills (1975).

**The dialogue and translation are taken from an album issued by Arhoolie Records, The Chicano Experience, edited by Guillermo Hernández. A recording of the dialogue by Netty and Jesus Rodriguez, done in the 1930's, was played as part of the oral presentation of this paper. This album also contains other songs of linguistic and historical interest, within notes, lyrics and translations provided by the editor and Yolanda Zepada.

***The Pachuco argot of the United States Southwest is commonly agreed to have originated in El Paso, Texas, and is ascribed to the criminal element there (Barker, 1950; Ornstein and Valdés, 1979). It is said to have been transmitted to other urban centers, notably Los Angeles, during World War II. However, Barker notes that the jargon was attested to in the early 1930's by older informants. He suggests that a large part of the vocabulary may have come from the caló, or argot, of the Mexican underworld, traceable to the gypsies in Spain.

Figure 3

Dialogue Between a Mexican and a Mexican-American*

CABRESTEA O SE AHORCA	BEND OR BREAK
¡Ay compadre! ¿Qué es esa ensarta de disparates que me está diciendo?	Compadre, what is all that nonsense that you're telling me?
—¿Cómo disparates? Pos si le digo que me tardé porque el automobil empezó a mistear y como ya pasando pa' aca pa' México en el camino no mira uno ni un sign y la carretera no es de chiquete como allá, pos me ponché dos veces y tuve que caminar en rin y con la llanta fleteada como cuatro millas, aluego se me tapó el mofle y al rato tuve un chor.	What do you mean nonsense? I'm telling you that I'm late 'cause the **automobile** started to **miss** and since once you cross over into Mexico you don't see any **signs** and the road isn't **paved** like over there, well, I got two **flat tires** and had to ride on the **rim** for about four **miles**, then the **muffler** got plugged up and later on I had a **short**.
—A ver, a ver, explíquese más despacio, porque la verdad no le he entendido.	Wait, wait, explain yourself a little slower because to tell the truth, I haven't understood you.
—Pos ahi tiene que llegué a un garage a mercar un poco de gaseline y el macánico me dijo que la yonke que yo venia arrendo mistiaba tanto porque era de second hand y que el timer hacia un chor con la pipa del gaseline.	You see, I come to a **garage** to buy some **gas** and the **mechanic** told me that the **junk** that I was **driving was missing** so much because it was a **second-hand** car and that the **timer** was making a **short** with the **gas pipe**.
¡Válgame compadre, de veras que usted da lástima!	My goodness, Compadre, how I pity you.!
—Y lo que más me arde es el trouble que tuve con mi cuera. No me quizo dar otra chanza y se me fue con otro bato. Se me puso muy heavy y le habló a la chota y me dijo: —No te me pongas pesao y vale más que te pintes, bato relaje, porque, si no, te denuncio mojado.	What really makes me angry is the **trouble** I had with my **girl**. She didn't want to give me another **chance** and left me for another **guy**. She got **real heavy** and called the **cops** and told me: "Don't get **wise** with me and you better **scram, crazy dude**, 'cause if you don't I'll report you **as a wetback**.
¡Pero, como me da lástima!	How I pity you, Compadre!
¡Huerca desgraciada! Nomás vido que se me empezaba a acabar el manil y le comenzó a dar caldo al wacheman y todo porque era blanco. Dijo que pa' ca ni un paso, que mejor se backeaba pa' tras a tener un good time con el bolillo.	**Damn woman**, as soon as she saw I was running out of **money**, she started **flirting** with the **watchman** just because he was a **white man**. She said that she wouldn't take **another step** this way, that she'd rather **go back** and have a **good time** with the **Anglo**.

---

*From Rodriguez (1938); boldface type indicates distinctive Spanish vocabulary.

(Figure 3 continued)

¡Ay, pero cómo me da lástima, compadre!	Oh, how I pity you, Compadre!
—Comadre, al entrar aqui al pueblo, vide unas chavas de aquella melaza, voy a ver si a alguna de ellas le saco un date pa' llevarla a dar un 'ride' y aluego la llevo al mono y si no quiere ir al mono al menos le merco su ice cream de a dime pa' comenzar a darle ganchola. A ver si me da chanza pa' que se me quite la pelota de la otra.	Comadre, when I come into town I **saw** some very **good looking girls**. I'm going to see if I can get a **date** with one of them to take her for a **ride** and then go to the **movies** and if she doesn't want to go to the **movies**, at least I'll buy her an **ice cream** for a **dime** so I can start **to get cozy with her**. Maybe she'll give me a chance to forget my **love** for the other one.
¡Pero cómo me da usted lástima, compadre!	How I pity you, Compadre!
—Bueno, despues de todo que le hace que la huerca aquella me haya dao pa' dentro, al fin aqui hay munchas. Mire comadre,.. con este tipo con estos calcos y con esta suera, le aseguro que más de cuatro se van a quedar picaos.	But after all, I don't care if that **lady screwed me up**, because there's **plenty** of girls right here. Look, Comadre, with my looks, these **shoes** and this **sweater**, I bet you a bunch of guys **are** going **to be envious of** me.
—Bueno, bueno, ya está bueno de letanias. O se calla o me habla usted en Español porque desde que empezó con su ensarta de disparates no le he entendido nada. ¿Qué rayos quiere decir con eso del 'gaseline', 'la chava', 'la huerca', y 'la chanza'? Expliquese usted como la gente. ¿Pues, qué ya se le olvidó su idioma?	All right, all right, that's enough of your preaching. Either you shut up or you speak to me in Spanish because since you started with all that jabbering, I haven't understood a thing. What in the world do you mean by all those words? (in bold) Explain yourself properly. Do you mean to tell me that you've forgotten your language?
—Pos es que asi se estila el uso de hablar en Texas.	Well, **that's the way** they talk in Texas.
—Bueno, que asi hablen los de allá está bueno, pero usted es mexicano y ahora está usted en México y si no quiere que le tomen el pelo hable usted como la gente. Recuerde que el deber de todo ciudadano honrado y decente es perfeccionar su vocabulario para que se le tome como persona educada. No hay que corromper con disparates nuestro precioso idioma, asi es que una de dos: o se corrige o se devuelve, porque aqui estamos completos.	All right, if they talk that way over there, it's fine, but you are a Mexican and now you are in Mexico and if you don't want to be taken for a fool, talk like a decent person. Remember that the duty of every respectable and decent citizen is to improve his vocabulary so that he'll be considered an educated person. We must not corrupt our precious language with nonsense. So you have a choice: either you shape up or you go back because there's no room for that here.

This dialogue, taken from a traveling tent show, illustrates the local skits which comics developed for the amusement of their Chicano public.

This dialogue exaggerates the way that most Mexican-Americans speak Spanish because the performance was intended to entertain a Chicano public whose life in the United States had created new norms for Spanish-language use. It entertained because it was an exaggeration and because it was a good-humored reflection of some of the new norms not shared with Mexicans who still lived in Mexico.

The features that distinguish Southwest Spanish from other popular Mexican-Spanish dialects are variable between speech communities and across individuals. The influence of English is undoubtedly a factor, but in more subtle ways than culture-specific lexicon and translations that are ascribable to interference. For example, my research on *para* "toward" (García, 1981) in phrases that name a location in verb phrases of motion indicates that both working-class Mexicans and Mexican-Americans use *para* in variation with *a* to mean "to," but Mexican-Americans use it more frequently and in a greater range of semantic and syntactic contexts. The example below is taken from an interview with a 40-year-old El Paso native, whose usage would be looked down upon by speakers of Standard Spanish.

> *Yo tengo como veinte años yendo para Juárez.*
> "I've been going to Juarez for about twenty years."

In the next example, a 60-year-old Mexican-American speaker disregards the constraint that *para* (realized as *pa'l*, the contraction of *pa* and *el*) introduce a concrete location.

> *Y se alistó y se fue pa'l Air Force.*
> "And he enlisted and went into the Air Force."

The fact that prescriptive English language use is more important socially and economically than prescriptive Spanish use in the United States doubtlessly contributes to distinct norms for the Spanish language in the United States. Southwest Spanish differs from standard Spanish in part because a formal style of Spanish is not normally needed, so local norms for Spanish language use are created.* The second generation has frequently been maligned because Spanish-language prescriptivists have not recognized the linguistic validity of the English-influenced dialect.

THE THIRD GENERATION

In Figure 1, we see that the third generation has lost much of the ethnic language, as is typical of many immigrant groups. Again, this is not necessarily true across the board, but is dependent on such factors as home-language use, contact with Spanish-dominant speakers, and visiting patterns between the United States and Mexico. Generally, the home language of the third generation is English, which is spoken according to the norms of the local community. If there is code-switching from Spanish to English, the Spanish is likely to have English syntax with fillers like you know, I mean, and um instead of este. Spanish is likely to be halting, even when used in the domain of the family, such as when speaking with one's grandparents. It may also serve specialized functions, such as signaling in-group solidarity with Spanish words and phrases (e.g., andale pues "go on then," ay te miro "I ll be seeing you") in conversations where the primary language is English.

In the example in Figure 4 from a sixteen-year-old third-generation Mexican-American girl ("GC") born and raised in Michigan, we can see the difficulty that speaking Spanish presents. By her own admission, she cannot speak much Spanish although she painfully attempts it in my interview with her.

---

*It is not clear to what extent a formally correct "standard Spanish" is spoken in any Spanish-language community, either in the United States or in Mexico. Different local norms of correctness appear to distinguish one speech community from another. For further discussion of differences in norms for Spanish use, see Bowen (1972) and García (1977).

Figure 4

Interview With a Third-Generation Mexican-American

Int.:	¿Cuando estabas en Tejas, hablaste español?	"When you were in Texas, did you speak Spanish?"
GC:	No, I can't talk that much. I can talk very little. Can talk—I can understand you, anything you tell me in Spanish—but I cannot talk much English, I mean Spanish.	
Int.:	¿Por qué?	"Why?"
GC:	I don't know. I've never learned it.	
Int.:	¿Si te pregunto que te gustó mas en El Paso o en Juárez?	"If I ask you what you liked more in El Paso or in Juarez?"
GC:	Me gustó la . . . como la gente estaba alli y todo . . . me gustó, *you know*?	"I liked the . . . the way the people were there and all . . . I liked it, you know?"
Int.:	¿Te gusta la comida mexicana, o te gusta mas . . . ?	"Do you like Mexican food, or do you prefer. . . ?"
GC:	Como yo e(s)toy todo el tiempo aqui me gusta mas allá porque hay *steaks* y todo, y no me gusta la . . . Estoy todo el tiempo con *Mexican food, you know*?	"Since I'm here all the time, I like it better over there because there are steaks and all, and I don't like the. . . I'm always with Mexican food, you know."

From the discourse in Figure 4, one can see that, even though GC tries some Spanish, what she can express is limited. She uses y todo "and all" as a fill-in for those things she can't express; her usage of you know acts as another filler. She repeats estoy todo el tiempo "I'm all the time," whereas a more fluent Spanish speaker might say, Siempre como comida mexicana aquí "I always eat Mexican food here." Interestingly, she turns back to English for Mexican food. English is her dominant language, and this sample from the interview illustrates that.

This discourse sample also illustrates language shifting across turns in a conversation. The participants are both Mexican-American females, and both are bilingual. The fact that GC prefers English to Spanish is evident in her English responses to Spanish questions. This pattern is not unusual for in-group bilinguals. GC's shifting to Spanish is motivated by my implicit request for her to speak it, which would not have been made if I had not wanted to elicit some Spanish from her. In fact, because of the uneasiness that speaking Spanish caused, I went back to English for the rest of the conversation.

GC had taken Spanish in high school, which helped her to speak what Spanish she did with me. I believe that reading and writing are important for Spanish-language maintenance of third-generation Mexican-Americans as a whole. By the third generation, if the schools have done their job, English-language oral ability is no problem, and teaching English-language writing skills may be no more difficult for them than for other monolingual English speakers. The opportunity to read and write Spanish from grade school on into junior high and high school years would help third-generation speakers to capitalize on their bilingual experience. It would be an opportunity to maintain an ancestral language that for many is not used orally, not even in the home.

CLOSING

This paper has presented a cursory overview of the linguistic repertoires of Mexican-Americans in the United States and some of the characteristics of the linguistic varieties available to them. I have attempted to convey a sense of the heterogeneity of the linguistic community and have suggested the difficulty of the task of describing Spanish-English bilingualism for even one extended family of speakers, taking Mexican immigrants as first generation, their children as second, and grandchildren as third. The teaching of literacy skills in both Spanish and English to members of this community can serve to enhance an already-extensive range of language abilities.

61

REFERENCES

Barker, G. C. Pachuco: An American-Spanish argot and its social functions in Tucson, Arizona. Tuscon, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1950.

Bills, G. Linguistic research on U.S. Hispanos: State of the art. In R. Teschner, G. Bills, & J. Craddock (Eds.), Spanish and English of United States Hispanos: A critical, annotated, linguistic bibliography. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1975.

Bowen, J. D. Local standards and Spanish in the Southwest. In R. Ewton & J. Ornstein (Eds.), Studies in language and linguistics. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1972.

García, M. Chicano Spanish/Latin American Spanish: Some differences in linguistic norms. The Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingue, 1977, 4, 200-209.

García, M. "Pa(ra)" in locative phrases in the Spanish of El Paso-Juarez. Doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University, 1981.

Hernández-Chavéz, E., Cohen, A., & Beltramo, A. (Eds.) El lenguaje de los Chicanos. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1975.

Macías, R. Mexicano/Chicano sociolinguistic behavior and language policy in the United States. Doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University, 1979.

Ornstein, J., & Valdés(-Fallis), G. On defining and describing United States varieties of Spanish: Implications of dialect contact. In J. Lantolf, F. Frank, & J. Guitart (Eds.), Colloquium on Spanish and Luso-Brazilian linguistics. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1979.

Rodríguez, J. "Cabrestea o se ahorca." (1938) In G. Hernández (Ed.), *The Chicano experience*, Texas Mexican Border Music, Volume 14. Folklyric Records 9021. El Cerrito, CA: Arhoolie Records.

Sánchez, R. Nuestra circunstancia linguística. *El Grito*, 1972, *6*(1), 45-74.

Valdés(-Fallis), G. Code-switching patterns: A case study of Spanish/English alternation. In G. D. Keller, R. V. Teschner, & S. Viera (Eds.), *Bilingualism in the bicentennial and beyond*. New York: Bilingual Press/ Editorial Bilingue, 1976.

FROM "JIMOSALSCO" TO "7 NARANGAS SE CALLERON Y EL ARBOL-EST-TRISTE EN LAGRYMAS": WRITING DEVELOPMENT IN A BILINGUAL PROGRAM*

Carole Edelsky
Arizona State University

What do we know about the development of writing in bilingual programs and how does this knowledge enhance our understanding of literacy development generally? We know a little about spelling inventions by Spanish speakers in test settings (Temple, 1978). We have some data on Spanish "Language Arts achievement" (which turns out to be reading-test scores; Danoff, 1978). But as for the development of writing, the

---

***Fuimos al circo* "We went to the circus"; *Siete naranjas se cayeron y el árbol está triste en lagrimas* "Seven oranges fell and the tree is sad in tears." Both are openings in one first grader's written texts. The former was written in November; the latter in April.

This paper reports a study in progress that is being funded by the National Institute of Education, NIE Grant Number G-81-0051. Other colleagues working on this project are Sarah Hudelson, Florence Barkin, Kristina Jilbert, Nancy Mendoza, Mary Guerra-Willekens, Teresa Rosegrant, and Carlos Vallejo.

productive side of literacy, that complex process of orchestrating multiple cueing systems to produce a text that functions pragmatically in a situational context (Harste, 1980), that set of recursive thinking processes orchestrated by a writer during the act of composing (Flower & Hayes, 1980), that juggling and meshing of global and local intentions with global and local conventions during the construction and exploration of possible worlds in the pursuit of understanding and explanation (Smith, 1981 a, b), that symbolic system that moves from a second order to a first order means of translating the condensed meanings of inner speech (Vygotsky, 1978), or even that type of visual text intended to be at least one sentence and that is completely composed by the child (Graves, 1975)--what do we know about the development of all this in a bilingual program? Nothing.

To be fair, we are only beginning to know about the development of such a process in any kind of program, bilingual or monolingual. However, although research interest in the writing process is a recent phenomenon (Graves, 1980), it has produced extraordinarily fruitful results, in large part because many researchers have turned their backs on traditional methodologies in educational research (e.g., Bissex, 1980; DeFord, 1980; Emig, 1971; Graves, 1981; Harste & Burke, 1980; King, 1980; Perl, 1979; Shafer, 1981; Sommers, 1978). Their studies have not used test data. They have not stripped away context by collapsing settings. They have not tried to investigate writing from the researchers' perspective. Their aim has not been prediction and control, but understanding. In short, their work has been naturalistic (Guba, 1978) or qualitative (Erickson, 1977; Rist, 1977). And rather than being of limited use because it did not select subjects randomly, attempt to control for various biases, establish stringent experimental conditions, etc., this research has been eminently "generalizable" in a profound sense. That is, others interested in the writing process have been able to see in diverse settings instances of the findings illuminated by these studies.

The present study was undertaken to help fill the void in our knowledge of the development of writing in bilingual programs. It was also designed to maintain a steady view of the contexts in which development takes place.

ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

To understand the development of writing in school, we have to find a school where children write.

From observing and talking with teachers in numerous bilingual programs in Arizona, Florida, and Texas, we have found that writing is a rare event in bilingual classrooms. To be sure, children fill in blanks, answer written questions on basal-reader stories and textbook selections, and put weekly spelling words in sentences or stories. But the bilingual program at our study site is the only one we know of in the Phoenix area where children create their own "possible worlds" in writing on a daily basis.

To understand the written product, we have to know the context.

We were determined to conduct our study in a well-described context so that both we and others could interpret and believe our findings. Therefore, this study is of writing in one bilingual program that provides a particular context for development. Further, the subjects come from one classroom at each of three grade levels. Not only the particular program but also the particular classrooms are individual contexts for the written texts that were produced.

We conceived of "context" as teacher and aide beliefs, classroom writing activities, program philosophy, administrative attitudes, socio-political-economic position of the children, parental attitudes toward the program, school histories of the children's older siblings, and the language situation of the community. (The practical reality of tremendous cost and labor caused us to eliminate a careful investigation of the minute-to-minute, face-to-face interactions that carry people's assumptions and theories about writing and that comprise the crucial micro-context of development.)

Children are hypothesis-creators.

Whether in relation to first language acquisition (Lindfors, 1980; Peters, 1980), second language acquisition (Fillmore, 1976; Hatch, 1978), early reading (Barrera, 1981; Clay, 1969; Ferreiro, 1978; Goodman, Goodman, & Flores, 1979), mature reading (Smith, 1978), or beginning writing in English (Clay, 1975; DeFord, 1980; Graves, 1979; Harste & Burke, 1980), language users reinvent rather than "copy" the psycho-sociolinguistic systems they use. Many of the hypotheses with which they operate can be inferred from the texts (oral or written) that they produce, especially from the "errors" and the contextually related variations in production that act as windows through which we can glimpse these internal and tacit hypotheses.

There is some relationship between the development of writing in one language and in another.

When literacy instruction in the first language begins before literacy instruction in the second language, reading test scores in the second language are higher than when no first-language literacy instruction is provided (Rosier & Farella, 1976; Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976). Data from immersion programs indicate that reading-test performance in the first language is not adversely affected by reading instruction in the second language (Cummins, 1979). Investigations of the reading process during actual reading show that this process is the same regardless of the language in which one is reading (Flores, in press). If reading is related across languages, writing in one language is most likely related to writing in another.

Writing is educationally important and worthy of study.

storically, writing has been artificially separated from reading, yet both are part of literacy. Moreover, writing and reading depend on and enhance each other (Moffett & Wagner, 1976; Smith, 1981a). It is largely through wide reading that various writing conventions are acquired and through extensive writing that one comes to understand an author's perspectives and problems. Further, writing functions as much to help the writer understand and explore various ideas as it does to communicate those ideas to a reader (Smith, 1981a). In other words, writing changes the writer--it helps the writer grow conceptually and expressively. Thus it is a crucial tool in achieving educational goals.

THE STUDY

With these assumptions, we set out to investigate the development of writing among 27 first, second, and third graders (nine at each grade) who attend a unique bilingual program in northwest Phoenix. By looking at their written products, collected at four times during the 1980-81 school year, we hope to be able to understand each child's development over one year.

Our broad research questions are as follows:

1. What happens over time and at any one point in time to several aspects of the children's writing? i.e., to their spelling inventions, the structure of their writing (beginnings and endings, organizational principles, links between propositions, etc.), their hypotheses concerning segmentation and punctuation, their use of code-switching in writing, stylistic

devices and content features (characters, settings, "sense of genre," etc.), and our subjective impressions of quality in the content.

2. How is one aspect related to another? (E.g., at a time when children do not segment within propositions, do they use explicit links between propositions?)

3. How is writing in Spanish related to writing in English?

4. What can we learn from biliteracy about various issues related to literacy and literacy instruction? (E.g., appropriate sequences in language arts, the relationship of literacy learning and teaching.)

METHODLOGY

We began with a core research staff of three. These three people had varying degrees of knowledge about the context of our data. Two had conducted workshops, in-service training, and on-site courses for this bilingual program over the past four years. The third is the director of the program. Consequently, we have not garnered all our information on context in the past year. Some of it comes from and all of it is enhanced by a long history of interactions in the district.

Prior to the opening of the 1980-81 school year, we selected one first-, one second-, and one third-grade classroom as the sites for data collection. At the first-grade level, we had four classrooms to choose from; at the second- and third-grade levels, we had a choice of three each. We made our selection based on what we believed at the time about the relative quality of teaching and the teachers' attitudes toward and beliefs about writing in school. We did not want a random selection, but rather a thoughtful one that would provide good sites for looking at development.

We collected all the writing done in these three classrooms during the first week of school. Through subjective evaluation by each of the core staff members (considering both content and written conventions), we selected three good, three medium, and three poor writers from each class. The intention was not to compare writers, but rather to increase the likelihood that we would see a range of abilities and a variety of growth patterns.

The first week's writing, used for selecting subjects, became the first of four collections. The others were from late November/early December, mid February, and early April. These four collections yielded a total of 556 pieces.

To aid the investigations of several aspects of written texts, we rewrote each sample using conventional spelling, spacing, and punctuation.* Twenty-six of the 556 pieces had to be eliminated from further analysis because we were unable to decipher them.

The collections were then analyzed by separate research teams, each with a single responsibility (e.g., one team worked on code-switching, another on spelling). The fact that many people looked at the same data for different purposes created a many-layered perceptual net: Not only have different perspectives been brought to bear on the same data, but different perceivers have discussed the same data.

---

*These rewritten forms are provided in the following text. Someday, researchers might study the process of interpreting young children's writing in the authors' absence. The decisions in deciphering semantic and syntactic encodings and the multiple cueing systems (including other texts by the same writer and other texts written on the same day by different children) accessed by sympathetic adult readers might help in the understanding of literacy processes. We rewrote some pieces several times before we arrived at the stage of "of course, that's what that says!" Even now, after many rereadings, a string of letters occasionally suggests a new and better interpretation.

When we are finished, the analyses will consist of at least four parts:

1. We immersed ourselves in the data, deciphering it, sorting it, reading and re-reading it, "playing" with categories, etc., until major categories emerged from a combination of this immersion and our previous knowledge about writing. That is, we tried (but rejected as inappropriate) gross a priori categories based on Britton's (1971) functions and roles of the writer. We tried and found useful some of Read's (1975) distinctions. Our fine categories, however, are all that the data suggested. For example, we code for the major category of punctuation and the fine categories of unconventional punctuation patterns such as "every line starts with a capital" or "every line ends with a period."

2. Once the categories were established, we coded each piece in a manner appropriate for eventual computer storing and sorting.

3. As the research teams coded according to their assigned aspects, we also began to keep a running list of impressions/hunches and unique texts that might get lost in computer tallies. These running lists will help to guide and interpret our computer analyses. They will also supply details for the qualitative conclusions we will juxtapose against our more quantitative ones.

4. We will analyze computer-sorted and tallied codings to find quantitative trends within major categories, as we compare each child across collection times, grade levels, language of writing, and assigned and unassigned pieces.

Through interviews, we have obtained teachers' and aides' descriptions of how writing occurs in their classrooms and their beliefs about children's writing (its value, what constitutes "good" and "bad" writing, etc.). School records and interviews with selected families have provided us with information on the educational histories of our subjects' older siblings. We have observed the print environments in these classrooms (what printed materials in what language are used for what purposes).

We have also obtained descriptions of the community language situation that were collected by an anthropologist employed by the district. We are gathering Bilingual Syntax Measure scores and other test data for our subjects. We have observed both the study classrooms and some other classrooms in the bilingual program to find the incidence of oral code-switching, to watch a few children as they go through the process of writing a piece, to see what kinds of information about language and literacy the teachers give to children during reading and writing times, etc. We have also collected some writing samples from classrooms that are not in our study. All of this is part of the context.

THE CONTEXT

We conducted our study in a small school district serving 3642 pupils; 623 of these are in the bilingual program although 1669 have been identified as having limited English proficiency. The district is located in a semi-rural area northwest of Phoenix. Until a special election in Spring, 1981, three distinct communities lived within its borders: a small group of primarily Anglo farm-owners/ranchers; a large group of Hispanic settled migrants and migrant-worker families who work in the onion, cotton, and cutflower fields; and a still larger retirement community. As a result of the election, the latter community is no longer within district boundaries.

Over 70% of the school population is Hispanic; 35.9% of Hispanic families are below poverty level. According to 1979 statistics, the unemployment rate in the district was 23.2%. Most of the children in the bilingual program qualify for free lunches.

The farm work is being increasingly mechanized. Thus many of the migrant adults are twice migrants--migrating in and out of the district and also spending many of their days within the district, migrating from farm to farm looking for places where by-the-day human work is still available. Many children go with their families to the onion fields each day and work for four hours before they go to school (N. Wellmeier, personal communication).

According to preliminary findings from an in-the-home language survey and from observations in homes, stores, work places, and meeting places, Spanish is overwhelmingly the language used in all adult-adult interactions (N. Wellmeier, personal communication). Children occasionally use English with and receive Spanish from adults or use both English and Spanish with each other. There is little print in the homes, though older adult family members report that they write letters to relatives.

Parents' initial luke-warm acceptance of the bilingual program has turned into active, enthusiastic support in the four years of the program's existence. They now send their children to school so regularly that bilingual program classes win district attendance trophies. When meetings of the Parent Advisory Council for the bilingual program changed from being held only in English with Spanish translations to being held in Spanish, attendance quadrupled. With much more widespread community involvement through the PAC, many more parents know about school events and endorse what they have learned.

District administrators have supported the bilingual program's activities and have allowed the program director to develop the program's philosophy and curriculum. She is knowledgeable about current theories in educational linguistics and has a positive view of the language strengths of the bilingual program children. The teachers in the program are well aware of this director's enthusiasm for the progress they have made toward increasing the authenticity and wholeness of the literacy and language experiences they plan for children.

This brings us to the contextual layer we call program philosophy. Written documents, in-service training, interaction with the director, and the reports of many of the program teachers reveal that the philosophy has the following components: a whole-language approach to literacy and language development (Goodman & Goodman, n.d.), heavy emphasis on writing for real purposes to varied audiences, first-language literacy instruction, writing and some reading in the language the child chooses, and an integrated approach to curriculum.

Classroom practices match philosophy in varying degrees. Some program teachers have only begun to move away from small-skills instruction and controlled, fill-in-the-blank writing. Others are able to allow children considerable control over their choice of written genres and topics. Others maintain a clear separation between curriculum content areas. Still others consistently engage children with types of entire discourse that exist outside the classroom, such as real conversation (Edelsky, in press), pen-pal letters, stories, jokes, shopping lists, interviews. This is in contrast to other classrooms where both artificial parts of discourse (such as sentences and paragraphs) and classroom-only genres (such as impersonal journals, letters to no one, reports of an event to an audience that was present at the event) prevail. In other words, we find no perfect match between practice and philosophy.

This is also true for the three study classrooms. Still, these three teachers and three aides should be applauded for the strides they have taken toward practice that is more like that called for in certain theoretical statements on writing and language development (Harste & Burke, 1980; Lindfors, 1980; Moffett & Wagner, 1976; Urzúa, 1980). Though they are idiosyncratically "imperfect," they all

1. have children writing from one to three hours a day about topics the children have personal knowledge about;
2. deliver direct literacy instruction in Spanish (and in English at third grade);
3. permit children to choose the language they will write and read (during non-reading-group time);
4. accept all topics (none are taboo);
5. establish daily journal-writing time;
6. send letters that are written;
7. accept unconventional forms (e.g., invented spellings, unconventional punctuation, etc.);
8. to a greater or lesser degree, emphasize content over form;
9. have children share their writing with peers;
10. have certain beliefs about what constitutes good writing or a good writer (a decipherable text, a writer who goes beyond the assignment and takes risks, who doesn't merely repeat, who has good ideas);
11. believe that writing has improved the children's reading, elevated the teachers' and aides' perception of the children (children are now seen as more capable), increased the

children's self-confidence and oral expressiveness (they appear more questioning, less passive, more persuasive on their own behalf), and made teaching more interesting.

Moreover, some but not all

1. establish an environment in which children control their own writing (by spontaneously writing at writing centers where interesting paper and writing implements are available);
2. allow more invented forms than others do;
3. allow varied physical conditions for writing (the floor, rugs, outside, singly, in pairs, interrupted, at one sitting, etc.);
4. hold occasional conferences about the content of a text (praising it or suggesting that children pair up to write a new text together);
5. hold occasional conferences for direct teaching of a particular convention;
6. can recall and introspect about their growth as teachers of writing.

However, they do not

1. establish a need and a demand for children to interact with a great deal of published (and therefore conventional), whole, written texts of different types (it is wide reading rather than writing that presents the systems to be acquired; Smith, 1981a, b);
2. "publish" selected works (therefore, children do not need to evaluate their own texts to decide on what will be published, to make content revisions, or to edit conventionally);

3. do extensive reading aloud from children's literature in Spanish;

4. hold conferences in which peers or adults question the writer on the meaning of a text to develop an internal anticipation of the reader's needs.

And the children? We will be able to cite Bilingual Syntax Measure and California Achievement Test scores, neither of which will tell very much about the thinking or interpreting they did in responding to these tests or about the hypotheses they make about written language (Circourel et al., 1974; MacKay, 1973). We know they have older siblings who have a pre-bilingual-program history of frequent referrals to specialists. We also know them by name and observation as complex individuals who write.

This then is the context: a physical setting, a community with a socio-economic reality, a language situation, a bilingual program with a particular philosophy, parents with certain attitudes toward the program, a particular set of administrators, and teachers with certain practices and beliefs who interact with particular students.

ABOUT THE WRITING: SOME VERY PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

As yet, our computer analyses are incomplete. Still, we can report some examples that we believe counter several myths that are current in some quarters. Our data counter the myth that these children suffer from language deprivation. But we can be more specific than that.

Myth: Bilingual children who are exposed to two languages "unsystematically" mix codes at random.

Code-switching in these written texts is an infrequent phenomenon. With few exceptions, code-switching is always intra-sentential and most often only a word rather than a phrase code-switch. When it is a phrase code-switch, it is most often a formulaic phrase learned in school, such as estudiamos de los indios Creek Indians "we studied about the indians Creek Indians" (where Creek Indians functions as a single lexical item) or fuimos a un field trip "we went on a field trip." While most of the code-switching seems to be due to the fact that the switched item is not presented to the children in Spanish (field trip is more commonly used than viaje "trip" in this district), this is not always the case. One child wrote about being muy, muy sad and, a few lines later, muy, muy triste "very, very sad." A few code-switches function to represent more realistically the reported event. In a summary of a movie she had seen in English, a first grader told about Popeye's triumph over a crocodile and directly quoted Popeye: El cocodrilo se murió y el Popeye dijo, 'Yay' "The crocodile died and Popeye said, 'Yay'" A second grader's picture accompanying a text showed a child caught in a stranglehold and shouting let go.

Almost all of the code-switching we have found so far occurs in Spanish texts. With rare exceptions, when the children write in English, they do not code switch. Even when they mentioned a song learned in Spanish ("La Víbora del Mar"), they labeled it the snake in the ocean. When we look at the in-classroom print available to them in each language, this discrepancy seems more understandable. Although children have access to trade books in Spanish, much of the Spanish print is "home-made" (teacher-made posters, dittoed reading materials, etc.). Print in English is overwhelmingly commercially produced. Therefore, perhaps Spanish texts are seen as more informal, and thus hospitable to code-switching, while the constraints on code-switching in writing are heightened when writing is combined with the language of "slick" materials.

Myth: Young writers are insensitive to demands of written texts.

The relative lack of written code-switching in contrast with a much higher frequency of oral code-switching at both intra- and inter-sentential levels leads us to believe that these children have a strong sense of what is appropriate in oral vs. written texts. Another example of their awareness of oral/written distinctions is their tendency to end written, but not oral, texts in certain ways; i.e., with something nice or polite (*y están bonitas* "and they are pretty"; *gracias* "thank you"), something final (*es todo* "that's all"; *fin* "the end") or some extended form (*it will stay with us forever more because we're coming every day, every day*).

Not only are they aware of the distinctions between oral and written discourse, but they also appear to distinguish between written texts of different genres. First-grade journals all begin with *Hoy es* "Today is." Letters have quite conventional headings and closings. Stories begin with formulae such as *había una vez* "Once upon a time." Further, some journal entries are tied to other entries. First entry:

> *Hoy es jueves. Arbolito hicimos de Christmas. La Miss D. no está aquí. Ahora no está. Me compraron zapatos negros.*
>
> "Today is Thursday. A little Christmas tree we made. Miss D. is not here. Today she is not here. They bought me black shoes."

Second entry:

> *Hoy es viernes. Y también me compraron un vestido.*

> "Today is Friday. And they bought me a new dress."

Other genres may be part of a larger text, part of which is oral; e.g., teacher's oral direction: Dime si te gustaba el recess "Tell me if you liked recess"; written piece: Me gusta mucho y estaba jugando con mis amigas . . . "I like it a lot and I was playing with my friends". (The written piece contains no mention of what it is that the author liked.) However, while non-journal genres in our data may be tied to oral parts of a discourse, they are not directly tied to other written texts.

In journals, many of the first-grade subjects write about going to Circle K and to K-Mart. They also occasionally write about quantities--numbers of days, ages, etc. They might have abbreviated both logos and number words by copying K and by writing 5, yet they did not. Instead, logos were spelled out and numbers were indicated by either numerals or numerals combined with words. For example, for K-Mart there is ceimart, ceimar, etc.; for Circle K, circocei, ceircocei. Someone tiene 12, grado 6 "is 12 (years old), grade 6," according to one author. Others write about being sick 5 cinco días "5 five days" or getting Valentines on el catorce 14 "the fourteenth 14". When the children were drawing and labeling stores, however, we observed a picture and sign saying Kmar. In other words, at least some of these children seem to understand the possibility of alternate means of representing words and even the same words under different circumstances.

Myth: Spanish is grapho-phonically regular.

One frequently hears that Spanish is more regular than English, that phonics is therefore the logical instructional approach to Spanish literacy. Yet our subjects invent spellings in Spanish just as English monolinguals do in English. However, the children's Spanish and English inventions seem to differ. Relatively more vowel inventions seem to occur in English and more consonant inventions in Spanish. That is, the languages are differentially "regular," but not in one overall way. Spanish phonics did not prevent unconventional consonant spellings. Moreover, in these classrooms where content is primary, the children's early phonics instruction has not prevented them from writing what they cannot spell conventionally. In some program classrooms where phonics plays a much bigger part, children's writing looks like phonics workbooks and imparts little content:

> *Amo a mi mamá. Amo a mi papá. A mi mamá amo. (etc.).*
>
> "I love my mother. I love my father. My mother I love." (etc.)

As the children get older, invented spellings seem to be based more on phonics generalizations, sounding-out strategies, and speech community norms than on phonetic features. That is, substituting *vien* for *bien* "good" and *llo* for *yo* "I" is based on phonics rules that have led them astray. *Mayestra* is a reasonable solution for *maestra* "teacher" if one is elongating the sounds as one writes and thus inserting a /y/ to elide the two vowels. And *muncho* for *mucho* "much" is a direct representation of local speech norms. At the start of the year, however, a phonetic-feature strategy resulted in more substitutions of *f* for *j* (both are fricatives) and of *t* for *ch* (similarity in point of articulation).

When the children write English texts or even single English words, they generally rely on Spanish orthography; for example, *jugamos* ("we played") *nariet* for *jugamos 'not it'*, *ai joup llu gou agein tu scu* for *I hope you go again to school*, *ballana umen* for *bionic woman*. However, other than one child who uses the letter *k* when writing Spanish (*porke* for *porque* "because" and *ke* for *que* "that"), the children do not use that letter except in English pieces. In these we find *kcost*, *snack* (for *snake*), *walkin*, *skunk*, and other *k* spellings.

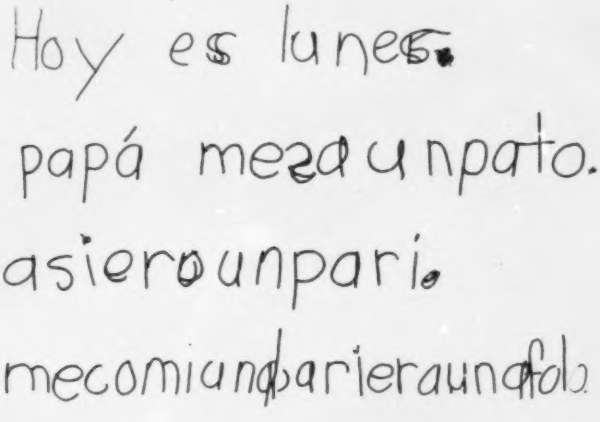
Myth: Literacy development is a matter of learning skills.

Myth: There is a one-to-one correspondence between teaching and learning.

Our children's means of segmenting and punctuating texts refute such notions. Labeling their invented conventions "errors" or "low skills" hardly does justice to the nature of the data. Instead, we believe they are evidence for hypotheses that active language users/acquirers construct as they attempt to convey sense through and make sense out of written language. The punctuation data especially should counter the idea of a one-to-one relationship between direct instruction (or "lessons") and learning.

How to segment language into conventional words is not self-evident. Our subjects make various hypotheses about where spaces should occur. Some of these might be considered syntactically based. That is, there are hypotheses that spaces should occur between but not within propositions, as in (1).

(1)



Hoy es lunes.
papá meza u npato.
asierounpari.
mecomiundarieraunatolo.

Hoy es lunes.
Papá me da un pato.
Hicieron un party.
Me comí un dari y era un atole.

"Today is Monday
Dad gives me a duck.
They made a party.
I ate a Dairy Queen and it was an 'atole'
(a corn drink)."

A hypothesis that spaces should occur between but not within noun phrases and verb phrases can be seen in one page of a journal (2).

(2) Hoy es jueves.
megusta elniCho
Dedios i
losrelles letragiero

Hoy es jueves.
Me gusta el niño
de Dios y
los reyes le trajeron . . ..

"Today is Thursday
I like the son
of God and
the kings brought him . . .."

There are other syntactically based examples of no-space-within-a-verb-phrase in the first proposition in example (1); no-space-within-a-noun-phrase (*mimama* = *mi mamá* "my mother"); no-space-within-a-prepositional-phrase (*enlateba* = *en la tienda* "in the store"); no-space-between-conjunction-and-following-word (*imi mama* = *y mi mamá* "and my mother").

Other hypotheses could have a morphological or phonological basis: segmenting between syllables or attaching one syllable to the next word. In (3), these hypotheses can be seen in lines 1, 2, 6, and 7.

(3) llo le bo lla allebar esto
cantausto san toclos
paracome de un amoto
y la casca tieneuncuantito
yalli puede meter elamoto
paceno batalle man cho metiendo
lo poruna ben tanana ymicasa
es 13 574 grasias

Yo le voy a llevar esta
carta a usted Santa Clos
para que me de una moto
y la casa tiene un cuartito
y allí puede meter la moto
para que no batalle mucho metiéndo
lo por una ventana y mi casa
es 13574. Gracias.

"I'm going to send this
letter to you Santa Claus
so that you give me a motorcycle
and the house has a little room
and you can put the motorcycle there
so that you don't fight much (have a hard time)
sticking
it through the window and my house
is 13574. Thank you."

We have identified two other classes of segmentation hypotheses: one that groups together contiguous words from different phrase structures, such as para que me in line 3 of (3); and one in which single letters stand by themselves or are attached to contiguous words or syllables as in me gusta al stauor pous t ry ojala cue . . . (me gusta el Star Wars poster y ojalá que . . . "I like the Star Wars poster and I hope that . . . ").

While children may try out multiple segmentation hypotheses in a single piece, they appear to be more loyal to hypotheses about punctuation, often trying out one invented pattern in several pieces. Thus some children use no internal punctuation--only a capital at the beginning and a period at the end of a long piece; others use a capital to start or a period to end each line. On multi-page pieces, some use a capital to start each page. Others seem to become intrigued with separation in general so that their liberal use of periods extends to the use of hyphens in "close quarters," as in (4).

(4)

calliba llubia del sielo
charcos. en el piso
dijo la notisa. del
radio. del señor del.
Radio llano. ballobe.fin

Caía lluvia del cielo.
Charcos en el piso.
Dijo las noticias del
radio, el señor del
radio - ya no va a llover. Fin.

"Rain was falling from the sky.
Puddles on the floor.
Said the news on the
radio, the man on
the radio - it's not going to rain any more.
The End."

The variety and frequency of invented punctuation patterns appear to decrease with age. Likewise the number and specificity of segmentation hypotheses in a single piece change or disappear over time. Two important points must be made here. First, these patterns were obviously generated by the students rather than taught by teachers or by examples in printed materials. These patterns are not merely errors; they are sensible hypotheses, some of which (e.g., no spaces within propositions, hyphens between words) have been conventional at other times in the history of writing systems (Ferreiro, 1981). Secondly, in our three study classrooms, there are few if any workbook lessons on punctuation and none on segmentation. Despite that absence, but with plenty of writing, there is definite movement toward conventionality.*

Myth: Literacy is constant across contexts—or—when you've got it, you've got it.

Instead of constancy across contexts, we see variation in aspects of writing co-occurring with variation in many aspects of context. When colored markers were available at a writing center, the texts became more concerned with colors, and the color words were often written with the corresponding colored markers. When children were given shape books (bone-shaped or apple-shaped pieces of paper stapled together) to write in, they invented rather than retold stories.

---

*For our tastes, our study classrooms also provide an insufficient amount of interaction with a variety of meaningful, interesting print (indeed, even with non-interesting print) in either language. We believe, with Smith (1981a, b), that many written conventions are acquired through reading and that with increased reading for meaning and no explicit attention drawn to form, these children's punctuation and segmentation would have become even more conventional this year.

The children seemed better able to access a schema for a genre when the genre was one that was familiar and "pristine" (such as straight-forward thank-you letters), rather than school created (journals with neither emotional focus nor problem-solving intent) or motley (assignments that were ostensibly letters but that were really reports of information gleaned during social studies time). That is, thank-you letters or invitations look and sound like what they are. On the other hand, journals are recognizable only by their formulaic headings (*Hoy es . . .* "Today is . . . "); they are essentially sterile in content. As for the motley genres to serve subject-matter ends, if one removed the *Querida Mrs. X* "Dear Mrs. X" from the social studies reports masquerading as letters, one would be hard put to identify the genre. Since such genres do not exist outside the classroom, no schemas can be accessed to aid the writer with the structure of the piece.

Precise information is supplied for the reader when that person is clearly an outsider; it is not supplied for an insider. Compare the indication of time and place in (5) with its lack in (6).

(5) Querida Mrs. Edelsky,

> Nosotros vamos a tener una comida el miércoles 17 a las 1:00 PM y es muy sabrosa y dígame si va ir. ¿Sí o no? Y pase el día de Christmas y el salón 4 de la escuela X y le va gustar mucho.
>
> Tu amiga,
> R.

"Dear Mrs. Edelsky,

We're going to have dinner Wednesday the 17th, at 1:00 p.m. and it is very delicious and tell me if you are going to go. Yes or no? And spend Christmas Day and room 4 of X School and you are going to like it a lot.

Your friend,
R."

(6) Querida Mrs. J.,

Yo le voy a mandar la carta de los indios de Creek Indian. *** (long passage about social studies information) Y Señorita J., ¿quiere venir a la clase a vernos bailar una canción de los indios y puede ir que nos vea a jugar stickball y a comer?

R.

"Dear Mrs. J.,

I'm going to send you the letter about the Creek Indians. *** (long passage about social studies information) And Ms. J., do you want to come to class to watch us dance an Indian song and can you go so that you can see us play stickball and eat?

R."

With the opportunity to decide genre, content, and "assignment" in general for themselves, the children used a greater variety of genres and became more involved with the text. Our three study classrooms did not permit such self-determination, but one other bilingual program first-grade classroom did. In that classroom, children had a time period in which they were required to write, but there were no constraints on what they had to write. Example (7) comes from that classroom. It is unmatched in involvement,* in appropriate opening speech act, and in genre by anything we have collected from the study classrooms.

(7) Mrs. X, le voy a decirle un joke ¿OK? ¿Usted conoce a los Polacks? Pues, había tres Polacks y uno estaba cargando una jarra de agua y el otro Polack estaba cargando una canasta de comida y el otro estaba cargando una puerta de un carro y vino un hombre y dijo '¿Porqué estás cargando una canasta de comida?' y dijo 'Si tengo hambre me puedo a comer la comida que está en la canasta.' Y le dijo al siguiente hombre '¿Porqué estás cargando una jarra de agua?' y dijo que 'Si tengo sed me puedo tomar la agua que está en la jarra.' Y le dijo al siguiente hombre que '¿Porqué estás cargando una puerta del carro?' y dijo 'Si tengo calor puedo abrir la ventana y luego no voy a tener calor.' Y ya se acabó. Tan tan.

"Mrs. S. I'm going to tell you a joke, O.K.? You know Polacks? Well, there were three Polacks and one was carrying a jug of water and the other Polack was carrying a basket of food and the other was carrying a car door and a man came along and he said, 'Why are you carrying a basket of food?' and he said, 'If I get hungry, I can eat the food that's in the basket.' And he said to the next man, 'Why are you carrying a jug of water?' and he said that 'If I get thirsty I can drink the water that is in the jug.' And he said to the next man that 'Why are you carrying a car door?' and he said, 'If I get hot I can open the window and then I won't be hot.' And it's all finished. Tan tan."**

---

*The writer was so enthralled with her first effort that she spontaneously wrote another of the same type; the second was made up and pointless from an adult perspective but maintained the joke structure.

**Tan tan is a melodic signature for "The end," similar to "da dum."

This is not an isolated example of what children can write when they are not constrained. From that same classroom we have invitations that take explicit account of the recipient's feelings, journals that attempt to work out relationship problems between the writer and the teacher, and summaries of X-rated movies.

Our first-grade study teacher began to encourage spontaneous, unassigned writing midway through the year. The children could go to a writing center and write on whatever kind of paper, with whatever implements, on whatever topics they desired. In their unassigned writing, the first graders drew lines on unlined paper (assigned writing is done on already-lined paper), sometimes numbered every line (no such invented convention appears in the assigned writing), dispensed with their rule that writing must be "nice" (at the writing center several reported that, at a school program, their song and dance contributions were bien feo "very ugly"), and produced pieces that approach the poetic, as in (8).

(8) Todos los días cae nieve en todas las partes. Y también caía lluvia en todas las partes y un señor se robó y la policía iba. La policía agarría al señor y lo llevó a la carcel y allí se estuvo todos los días. Era cuando estaba cayendo nieve.

"Every day snow falls everywhere. And also rain was coming down all over and a man robbed and the police went. The police grabbed the man and took him to prison and there he was forevermore. It was when the snow was falling."

Contrast the unassigned (8) with assigned (9) by the same first grader at the same collection time.

(9) Hoy es martes. Yo voy a hacer muchos reportes.

"Today is Tuesday. I'm going to do a lot of reports."

Not only the content of literacy varies with context, but also the "skills," the forms. In the third grade, some children used only manuscript when writing in English, but either cursive or manuscript when writing in Spanish. Segmentation sometimes differed depending on the language of the text. When taking more syntactic risks (e.g., varying the structure of propositions rather than safely listing variations on one structure, such as a mí me gusta . . . "I like . . ."), handwriting became less studied, less "drawn." One child, who had spelled y "and" conventionally since February, reverted to an earlier i spelling in April when she concentrated on both switching colored markers and including as many color words in her text as she had different colored markers.

In other words, literacy is an orchestration of multiple cueing systems in a three-dimensional space (grapho-phonic wrapped around syntactic wrapped around semantic and pragmatic systems; Harste, 1980), all embedded in the layers of context we have described. Changes in any of this affect the rest. But isn't there one general thing called reading or writing ability? Based on the interim findings from these data, we don't think so.

Myth: The teacher is irrelevant; the learner learns alone.

Although we have added to the arguments in favor of a hypothesis-constructing literacy learner who may use, adapt, or ignore details of direct teaching about literacy, our data also argue strongly that the teacher is a major contributor in the child's development of writing.

The teacher's expectations about the child's writing abilities determined what the child in fact wrote. The first-grade study teacher believed that entering first graders could not write. Therefore, the September data for first grade consist entirely of labeled or signed pictures. By November, she believed they could compose their own journal entries if guided by a teacher-established structure. The second collection from first grade is made up of one assigned thank-you letter and journals that are variations on the theme Hoy es lunes. Hicimos papeles. Fuimos a la tienda, etc., "Today is Monday. We did papers. We went to the store, etc." That is, in "easing" the children into writing, the teacher managed to communicate that in journals one lists surface features of what one did the day before. In February, she began to believe she could "take the lid off." The variety and richness of the third and fourth collections reflects the "removed lid." From what happened in two other non-study first grades, we can tell that this change is not simply a function of the children's own maturation. In one class, the teacher turned major writing decisions over to children from the beginning of the year. That classroom produced pieces that reveal that the writers were taking major risks in genre, syntax, and topic. In the other class, the teacher believed that children need to spell conventionally and decode accurately in reading in order to write. Writing from that classroom as late as April still resembled texts in phonics workbooks.

Other reflections of the effect of the teacher's beliefs about, values in, and theories of writing also appear in children's writing. The second-grade study teacher believed that quantity was a mark of development. In attempting to please her, the children wrote pieces 10-26 pages long, but at a price. In order to comply with her value on length, they repeated themselves, left big spaces, added words as fillers (four consecutive bien's "well" or three consecutive y's "and" and presented a loose association of ideas (as though they were adding almost any thought that came to mind in an effort to increase the length). When we suggested to the teacher that quantity was detracting from quality, she must have communicated that to the children because the following collection showed none of these space-filling features or 10-plus page pieces.

Teachers and aides also differed when they discussed a written text with a child. The first-grade teacher and aide asked for more information. The third-grade teacher and aide asked for corrections of syntax and spelling. We have very few multiple drafts of the same piece since, without publication of selected pieces, the teachers established no purpose for major revisions (another "effect of the teacher on the development of writing"). However, we do have one set of first and second drafts from the first and the third grades. The first-grade set, example (10), is a piece in two parts.

(10a) A mí me gustó el programa de Mrs. X y estaba suave y nosotros cantamos suave y nosotros cantamos dos canciónes y yo quería cantar otra canción. El Fin.

"I liked Mrs. X's program and it was neat and we sang neat and we sang two songs and I wanted to sing another song. The End."

The teacher then asked the child what song she would have preferred to have sung; (10b) is the answer.

(10b) Quería cantar 'Hoy desayuné mi arroz con leche' porque la otra canción era muy corta. Tenemos que practicar para las mamás y para los papás.

"I wanted to sing 'Today I had rice and milk for breakfast' because the other song was too short. We have to practice for the moms and for the dads."

The set from the third grade is a recopy after the teacher corrected the first draft (11).

(11a) airport

We went to the airport and saw airplanes and people. too We saw a liitle gril throw a shoe out from the window And a man gaet and givin to the little gril. Then a boy was lost in the air-

> port. The man told the man from the airplane to land to give the shoe to the girl. Then a boy was lost in the airport he told a man then the man was taling the boy huse was her mom and she saw her mom and she wend withher. The end

(11b) A Boy in the Airport

> We went to the airport and saw airplanes and people too. We saw a little girl throw a shoe out from the window of an airplane. A man got it and gave it to the little girl. The man told the pilot from the airplane to land to give the shoe to the girl. Then a boy was lost in the airport he told a man. The man was asking the boy who was his mom. Then he saw his mom and he went with her.

As a result of these two quite different approaches to first drafts, the respective authors will probably come to internalize different views of reader needs. From our theoretical perspective, following Harste (1980) and Halliday (1978), we argue against the idea that each of these two approaches is different but equally valid. If the development of syntax and conventions in texts grows out of the social and pragmatic nature of language and literacy, then the approach that focuses on pragmatics and the reader's need to know will lead to greater development in the writing process.

CONCLUSION

This paper has described the design of a study in progress of the development of writing in one bilingual program. Some layers of context have been presented along with some preliminary findings that counter certain myths about our subjects, about language, and about literacy. There is more to tell, but for now, como los niños dicen, este es mi historia. Es todo lo que quiero decir. Fin "As the children say, This is my story. It is all that I want to say. The End."

REFERENCES

Barrera, R. Reading in Spanish: Insights from children's miscues. In S. Hudelson (Ed.), Learning to read in different languages. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1981.

Bissex, G. Patterns of development in writing: A case study. Theory Into Practice, 1980, 19, 197-201.

Britton, J. What's the use? A schematic account of language functions. Educational Review, 1971, 23, 205-219.

Cicourel, A., Jennings, K., Jennings, S., Leiter, K., MacKay, R., Mehan, H., & Roth, D. (Eds.). Language use and school performance. New York: Academic Press, 1974.

Clay, M. Reading errors and self-correction behavior. British Journal of Educational Psychology, 1969, 39, 47-56.

Clay, M. What did I write? Auckland, New Zealand: Heinemann Educational Books, 1975.

Cummins, J. Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. Review of Educational Research, 1979, 49, 222-251.

Danoff, M. Evaluation of the impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English bilingual education programs: Overview of study and findings. Palo Alto, CA: American Institutes for Research, 1978.

DeFord, D. Young children and their writing. Theory Into Practice, 1980, 19, 157-162.

Edelsky, C. Who's got the floor? Language in Society, in press.

Emig, J. The composing processes of twelfth graders. Research Report No. 13. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1971.

Erickson, F. Some approaches to inquiry in school-community ethnography. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1977, 8, 58-69.

Ferreiro, E. What is written in a written sentence? A developmental answer. Journal of Education, 1978, 160, 25-39.

Ferreiro, E. Lecture notes, EED 695, University of Arizona, Program on Language and Literacy, March 7, 1981.

Fillmore, L. W. The second time around: Cognitive and social strategies in second language acquisition. Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1976.

Flores, B. Bilingual reading instructional practices: The three views of the reading process as they relate to the concept of language interference. California Journal of Teacher Education, in press.

Flower, L., & Hayes, J. A cognitive process theory of writing. Paper presented at Conference on College Composition and Communication, Washington, DC, March, 1980.

Goodman, K., & Goodman, Y. A whole-language comprehension-centered view of reading development. Manuscript prepared for the National Institute of Education, n.d.

Goodman, K., Goodman, Y., & Flores, B. Reading in the bilingual classroom: Literacy and biliteracy. Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1979.

Graves, D. An examination of the writing processes of seven-year-old children. Research in the Teaching of English, 1975, 9, 227-241.

Graves, D. Growth and development of first grade writers. Paper presented at annual meeting of Canadian Council of Teachers of English, Ottawa, 1979.

Graves, D. A new look at writing research. Language Arts, 1980, 57, 913-919.

Graves, D. Writing research for the eighties: What is needed. Language Arts, 1981, 58, 197-206.

Guba, E. Toward a methodology of naturalistic inquiry in educational evaluation. Los Angeles: UCLA Center for the Study of Evaluation, 1978.

Halliday, M. A. K. Language as social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning. Baltimore: University Park Press, 1978.

Harste, J. Language as social event. Paper presented at annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston, 1980.

Harste, J., & Burke, C. Examining instructional assumptions: The child as informant. Theory Into Practice, 1980, 19, 170-178.

Hatch, E. (Ed.) Second language acquisition. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1978.

King, M. Learning how to mean in written language. Theory Into Practice, 1980, 19, 163-169.

Lindfors, J. Children's language and learning. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980.

MacKay, R. Conceptions of children and models of socialization. In H. Dreitzel (Ed.), Childhood and socialization. New York: Macmillan, 1973.

Moffett, J., & Wagner, B. J. Student-centered language arts and reading, K-13. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1976.

Perl, S. The composing processes of unskilled college writers. Research in the Teaching of English, 1979, 13, 317-336.

Peters, A. The units of language acquisition. Working Papers in Linguistics, 1980, 12:1, University of Hawaii.

Read, C. Children's categorization of speech sounds. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English 1975.

Rist, R. On the relations among educational research paradigms: From disdain to detente. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1977, 8, 42-49.

Rosier, P., & Farella, M. Bilingual education at Rock Point: Some early results. TESOL Quarterly, 1976, 10, 379-388.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T., & Toukomaa, P. Teaching migrant children's mother tongue and learning the language of the host country in the context of the socio-cultural situation of the migrant family. Helsinki: Finnish National Commission for UNESCO, 1976.

Shafer, R. Children's interactions in sustaining writing: Studies in an English primary school. Unpublished manuscript, 1981.

Smith, F. Understanding reading. (Second edition.) New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1978.

Smith, F. Lecture notes, EED 695, University of Arizona, Program on Language and Literacy, March 28, 1981. (a)

Smith, F. Writing and the writer. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1981. (b)

Sommers, N. *Revision in the composing process: A case study of college freshman and experienced adult writers*. Doctoral dissertation, Boston University, 1978.

Temple, C. *Spelling errors in Spanish*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia, 1978.

Urzua, C. A language learning environment for all children. *Language Arts*, 1980, *57*, 38-44.

Vygotsky, L. S. *Mind in society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.

THE WRITING NEEDS OF HISPANIC STUDENTS

Jon Amastae
The University of Texas at El Paso

The writing needs of Hispanic students can be viewed in at least two ways. One is in terms of ultimate goals in using language. The other is in terms of specific steps to meeting those goals. In the former sense, the writing needs of Hispanic students are identical to the writing needs of all other students: Hispanic students must use the standard written language with clarity and precision. The second sense is more problematic and involves the question of whether Hispanic students, because of linguistic, sociolinguistic, or even socio-economic factors, need special instructional strategies in order to reach the goals. It is this second sense that I will consider here.

The Hispanic students I will discuss attend Pan American University (PAU) in Edinburg, Texas, which is in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of South Texas, comprising the South Texas Border area. The majority of PAU students come from the four-county area immediately surrounding the university. The student body reflects the composition of the surrounding community, being 77% Spanish surnamed and primarily of lower socio-economic status (Amastae, 1978b).

100

In 1975, a project was begun to investigate the bilingualism of PAU students.* Two of the most important goals of that investigation were to determine (1) the amount and character of bilingualism among the university population and (2) the kinds of problems PAU students had in writing English and the degree to which Spanish interference accounted for these problems. I will describe briefly the methods used to meet these objectives.

While the overall objective was to study bilingualism, the project was slanted toward English, and especially written English, rather than Spanish. The design of the investigation reflected this bias. A qualitative and quantitative study of bilingualism is, of course, a monstrous undertaking, with or without special attention to written English. In order to implement our study, we employed several methods.

A sociolinguistic background questionnaire (SBQ), adapted from one used in a similar study at The University of Texas at El Paso (Ornstein & Goodman, 1979), was administered to a stratified systematic sample comprising 7.6% (n = 679) of the PAU student body. We also collected writing samples, conducted an interview in Spanish and English, and administered our own syntax questionnaire in English (SQE) to a freshman sub-sample (n = 132). We had complete data, including SBQ, writing sample, and interview, on 80-90 freshmen students.

---

*The work reported here was supported in whole or in part by the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the U.S. Office of Education, and no official endorsement should be inferred. The research was supported by an Advanced Institutional Development grant (OEG-0-74-2411) to Pan American University; this support is gratefully acknowledged. I also thank all the colleagues who have been associated with the project for helpful comments and discussion.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

The SBQ--the principal device used to obtain basic demographic and sociolinguistic background data on the subjects--provided an extremely interesting portrait of the bilingual situation in the area. (We assumed that PAU students accurately reflected the surrounding community). Of the Spanish-surname students, 74% spoke first in Spanish, 14% learned both Spanish and English simultaneously, and 12% learned English first. Approximately 35% had at least one parent born in Mexico. Almost all reported high identification with and loyalty to Spanish in both practical and aesthetic terms. Nevertheless, many expressed a certain negative attitude toward the local variety of Spanish, which was seen as inferior to the local variety of English.

The students surveyed had progressed through the educational system before the advent of bilingual education. Few, therefore, had received literacy training in Spanish. The over-whelming use of English in educational settings had produced many students for whom English was the dominant language even though Spanish was the first and the home language. However, these students did not necessarily have a high opinion of their English. As Table 1 shows, they appeared to lack confidence in almost all uses of both languages.

The data in Table 1 illustrate some of the classic signs of language shift in progress. And there are others. Greater likelihood of English as a first language, confidence in English, and use of English outside the home appear to be signs of language shift associated with higher socio-economic status (SES) in the familiar pattern for all immigrant groups in the country. But there is an interesting reversal, especially if mother's income as well as father's income is used as an index of socio-economic status. Rising SES, indicated primarily by mother's education and income, appears to involve increasing likelihood of English as a first language, increasing confidence in English, and increasing use of English (and a corresponding decrease in these of Spanish), until the highest SES levels are

Table 1

Language Capability Ratings
(from Amastae, 1978b)

	Capability Level			
	Elementary	**Intermediate**	**Advanced**	**Educated Native**
Speak English	3.2%	38.6%	36.9%	20.0%
Understand English	2.3	31.8	41.6	23.1
Read English	1.9	30.9	41.3	24.2
Write English	5.7	40.0	32.2	20.1
Speak Spanish	14.3	46.2	21.2	11.1
Understand Spanish	14.7	41.5	29.5	14.3
Read Spanish	32.8	35.8	20.8	10.7
Write Spanish	37.8	37.1	16.1	9.0

reached, whereupon the likelihood of Spanish as first language and confidence in Spanish rise sharply.

The small group that demonstrated high confidence in both languages presumably had early literacy training in both languages. It will be interesting to compare pre- and post-bilingual education generations in this regard.

While these data do not bear directly on the writing of Hispanic students, they provide necessary background for a more direct examination of language and writing (see Amastae, 1978a, b, 1980a, 1981a, for further discussion of these sociolinguistic data).

WRITING SAMPLES

A large portion of our time and effort was directed toward the analysis of the writing samples.* We analyzed both errors and the use of elaboration. When we examined errors, we did not preselect errors to analyze, but defined categories of errors as we proceeded. Although this method introduces problems of reliability of categories, we felt that it produced fewer inconsistencies than a priori selection. Reliability was checked, however, by the two analysts working closely together, examining each other's work, and discussing carefully any problems in categorization of errors. In this way, 73 error types were isolated, ranging from errors of literacy convention (including punctuation) through errors of standard usage to errors in basic language.**

The writing samples as a whole, including those from both Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish-speaking groups, contained remarkably few language errors (see McQuade 1978, 1980) as opposed to punctuation and other orthographic errors. A much smaller number of errors appears directly attributable to Spanish interference.

---

*Most other studies of bilingualism (e.g., Fishman et al., 1971) have ignored syntax. The one other large-scale study we know of that attempted to deal with syntax was a study at The University of Texas at El Paso. However, the analysis of syntax there was qualitative only (cf. Hensey, 1976; Craddock, 1976, for a treatment of the Spanish syntax of the informants), and no attempts were made to quantify the analysis or to relate social and linguistic variables.

**All compositions were typed and coded numerically for identification. At no time did the analysts have any idea of the identity of the paper's author.

Tables 2 and 3 reveal that, for the most part, these Spanish-speaking students made the same errors English speakers make. Moreover, the actual number of errors, converted to a per 100 words basis (Table 3), is in fact rather small. This finding suggests that the often repeated charge that Spanish-speaking students make many errors because of Spanish interference is unfounded. (One must note, however, that with an average of 14-15 errors of all types per composition, a failing grade would be virtually guaranteed in most university composition programs.)

To analyze students' use of elaboration in their writing, we used techniques developed by Hunt (1965) and Loban (1976) to determine the degree to which a writer (or speaker, for that matter) elaborates a sentence beyond the structure of a simple sentence, using such devices as modifying words, phrases, clauses, and complements. Not only are all these devices counted, but also an index of elaboration called communication-unit is calculated (similar to Hunt's T-unit)--an independent clause with all attendant modifiers, including modifying clauses. Number of words per c-unit has been

Table 2

Errors in Writing Samples
(from McQuade, 1978)

Error Type	Number	Comment
Punctuation	577	
Spelling	285	
Sentence (fragment, run-on, dangling modifier)	193	
Verbs	180	missing past/past participle *-ed* 82 hypercorrect *-ed* 20
Noun-pronoun (reference, agreement, pronoun shift)	162	
Lexical choice	126	7 clearly interference
Preposition/particle	100	*in/on* 23; 20 others clearly interference
Articles	43	
Adjectives/adverb	16	
Total	1682	

Table 3

Errors per 100 Words
(from McQuade, 1980)

Error Type	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.
Missing comma	1.160	.720	1.390
Homphone misspellings	.510	.004	1.075
Faulty pronoun reference	.275	.003	.521
Wrong preposition	.228	.002	.487
Missing past *-ed*	.191	.001	.525
Comma splice	.187	.002	.418
Fragment	.161	.001	.475
Missing article	.147	.001	.398
Confusion *in/on*	.099	.001	.258
Faulty parallelism	.096	.001	.265
Wrong verb	.063	.001	.193
Missing third person singular -s	.039	.001	.272
Wrong participle form	.028	.001	.138
Missing possessive *-s*	.020	.001	.138
Double negative	.018	.001	.108

found by other investigators to be a rather accurate shorthand measure of syntactic maturity.

Loban's (1976) work included analysis of students' use of elaboration through the senior year of high school. We reasoned that language samples taken from university freshmen ought to be roughly comparable to those of high school seniors and, consequently, we used the Loban figures as baselines. Loban divided his subjects into three groups: a Low group and a High group, into which subjects were placed by teachers' assessments of them as being verbally skilled or non-skilled; and a Random group, composed of a random selection from all subjects. The data in Table 4 show that the PAU freshmen very closely matched the Loban Low group in their use of syntactic elaboration (McQuade, 1978).

Table 4

Use of Elaboration

(from McQuade, 1978)

	Words per c-unit	Dependent clauses per c-unit	Proportion of clauses by type			Non-finite verb words as % of total verb words
			Adj	Adv	Noun	
PAU Freshmen	11.88	.48	25%	45%	30%	18%
Loban High Seniors	14.06	.66	31%	35%	34%	14%
Loban Low Seniors	11.24	.52	38%	33%	30%	8%

We were also interested in relationships among types of syntactic features, as was Loban. Since we had analyzed errors, as he had not, we could also search for relationships among error types and elaboration types. Therefore, we subjected both error types and elaboration types to factor analysis (McQuade, 1980).* The factoring of the 23 elaboration types

---

*In order to compensate for differing length of text samples for each student, each elaboration and error count was converted to a per-hundred-words unit. Garland Bills has pointed out to us that there may be a weakness in subjecting variables collected from a text to procedures such as factor analysis since there is no way to control the input probability that each variable (not variant) will be used. A more accurate calculation would be a ratio of variants to the opportunities

(Table 5) indicates that five factors were strongly related, accounting for 85% of the variance in the data. These elaboration factors included those elements that Loban found appearing first in the developmental sequence; this result suggests that the students were in an early stage of their development of syntactic elaboration.

Table 5

Elaboration Factors
(from McQuade, 1980)

Factor 1	Non-spatial, non-temporal conjunction
	Total non-finite verbs
	Words per c-unit
	Total verb words
	Total dependent clauses
	Noun clauses
Factor 2	Verb-*to*-verb complement
	Total *to* complements
Factor 3	C-units
	Sentences
Factor 4	Adverb clauses
	Total dependent clauses
Factor 5	Noun/adjective-*to*-verb complement
	Total *to* complements

---

for use of the variable. However, figuring the opportunities for use of many variables in a text seems extraordinarily difficult, and so we have used the per-hundred-words calculation, assuming that basic comparisons will still be meaningful.

The factoring of the error types was also interesting in that the first five factors accounted for only 51% of the variance in the data (Table 6), indicating that they are relatively weaker than the elaboration factors. It is also notable that only the weaker factors contain true language errors. The stronger factors are exclusively literacy and standard-usage errors of the type that trouble all students, not just bilingual ones. (In Factor 1, we did not consider multiple negation an error caused by interference from

Table 6

Error Factors

(from McQuade, 1980)

Factor 1	Missing word
	Double negative
	Missing pronoun
	Run-on sentence
	Comma splice
	Wrong tense
Factor 2	Missing possessive
	Faulty parallelism
	Missing connective
Factor 3	Pronoun shift (POV)
	Wrong relative pronoun
	Wrong participle form
	Dangling, misplaced modifier
	Redundancy
Factor 4	Missing third person singular -*s*
	Singular-plural noun
Factor 5	Wrong participle form
	Wrong preposition
	Wrong verb

Spanish because it is commonly present in all non-standard English dialects.)

In the computer program we used, SPSS (Nie et al. 1975), the factor analysis procedure can process only a limited number of variables. Therefore, in searching for a relationship between error and elaboration, we could not factor all ninety-six variables that clustered in the separate error and elaboration factor analyses. We did not find that any basic-language error types were associated with any particular elaboration types. Rather, the factors were generally very much those that appeared in the two separate factor analyses, as shown in Table 7. However, Factor 1 does show a cluster of basic literacy errors along with elaboration types. The interpretation of Factor 1 in Table 7 leads to an interesting conclusion: One index of mature writing--syntactic complexity--is associated with signs of poor writing--number of errors. In other words, the students who were taking risks with their sentence structures were committing errors. Presumably those who took no risks made fewer errors and produced very dead writing. Both types of students risk censure from the writing teacher.

The general lack of association between most language errors and elaboration may indicate an avoidance strategy. We had hypothesized that certain language error types might be frequently associated with attempts at certain structures. That only a few seem to be, at least in this measure, may indicate that speakers/writers who do not control certain structures do not attempt them, and thereby commit no errors with them. This hypothesis requires further examination.

SYNTAX QUESTIONNAIRE IN ENGLISH

Since true linguistic errors were not rife in the total sample, we had difficulty in making judgments about students' command of standard English syntax. One reason for this difficulty is that many possible forms simply do not occur in a given corpus. Thus, we

Table 7

Combined Elaboration and Error Factors
(from McQuade, 1980)

Factor 1	Non spatial-temporal conjunction
	Total non-finite verbs
	Words per c-unit
	Total verb words
	Total dependent clauses
	Noun clauses
	Missing word
	Double negative
	Run-on sentence
	Comma splice
	Missing pronoun
	Wrong tense
	Missing connective
	Wrong relative pronoun
Factor 2	Total *to*-complements
	Verb-*to*-verb complements
	Noun/adjective-*to*-verb complements
Factor 3	Missing possessive
	Missing comma
	Faulty parallelism
Factor 4	C-units
	Sentences
Factor 5	Pronoun shift (POV)
	Wrong relative pronoun
	Wrong participle form
	Dangling, misplaced modifier
	Redundancy

cannot conclude that the writer/speaker does not know the forms, but merely that he or she has not used them in the sample under examination. Of course, the writer/speaker may not in fact know a construction or may not command it completely, and therefore may avoid it. But we cannot infer this merely from the absence of the form in question; arguments from negative evidence are difficult at best.

Therefore, Nicholas Sobin (1976, 1977a) developed a syntax questionnaire in English (SQE) to help us assess students' command of English. One objective of using the device was to force students to manipulate patterns that simply might not have occurred in their writing samples. A second objective was to learn more about possible interference from Spanish. Among other things, the SQE required students to perform operations corresponding to different sorts of syntactic rules: insertion, deletion, movement, etc. We hoped to see if interference operated under any sort of inhibiting or favoring conditions in terms of syntactic rules. A third objective was to understand more about the interplay between interference and non-interference errors and strategies in second-language learning. In short, since the writing samples revealed many literacy errors but few syntactic errors, we wanted to probe the limits of the students' knowledge of English syntax.

Some sections of the SQE asked respondents to mark acceptable versus non-acceptable sentences, others to choose an item (such as a preposition), others to perform operations on input sentences. Many types of operations were selected expressly for their difference or similarity in English and Spanish. Most of the students were able to perform these operations on this elicitation device, a few sample items of which are given with abbreviated directions in Figure 1. (Examples of operations were given in each section, as well.)

A major difficulty of using the SQE was the time and effort required to code some sections, such as the

Figure 1

Sample Items from Syntax Questionnaire in English

I. Check any acceptable sentence; put an X before any sentence that sounds unnatural.

(a) Jack has kissed Jill.
(b) Jill has been kissed by Jack.

(a) To leave home scares Sally.
(b) Sally is scared by to leave home.

II. Combine the separate sentences in each group into one natural sentence.

1. I want this. You write to your mother.
2. Sheila pointed this out. She left early last night.
3. The girl came early. I met the girl.

III. Write the form of the word in ( )'s that will complete the sentence.

1. (push) __________ your friend wasn't nice.
2. (resign) They asked for her __________.
3. (write) Good __________ is important.

complex-sentence section (illustrated in II in Figure 1). A primary reason for this difficulty was that we were interested not in just "right/wrong" or "standard/non-standard" answers, but in a number of qualitative distinctions concerning each response. The time and effort were well spent since the inherent limitations of working solely from texts can be overcome only by using such a device (though not necessarily a written one, of course).

The results of the SQE shed light on the notions of transference and interference. Transference and interference have been discussed for some time, but much of the debate has focused on topics other than transformational rules. If the dominant linguistic theory uses transformational rules, then a theory of language learning must utilize them too, at least to some degree. Yet many investigations of second language learning discuss only surface structures (Schumann, 1978), or, if they mention rules, they never show exactly how rules either interfere or transfer to another language (DiPietro, 1978).

While some aspects of linguistic structure may transfer (preposition usage, lexical/semantic selection), there is little or no evidence that transformational rules transfer. Specifically, in English question formation, the variant forms look nothing like Spanish, but are those produced by English monolingual learners and all other learners of English (Sobin, 1977b); these forms show several stages in the acquisition of questions. The case for non-transference of transformational rules* is stated more strongly by Sobin (1980), who examines the rules of Subject-Auxiliary Inversion and Have-Be Hopping and concludes that there is no evidence for any sort of transference from Spanish, even in the output of those few students who had not completely acquired such basic forms as questions.

I have discussed the difficulty of interpreting non-occurring forms when input is not controlled in any way. The advantage of using an elicitation instrument is that it allows the control of input. Thus, given an input (such as _I fear this. I might lose my fishing pole._) that has at least two possible outputs (_I fear that I might lose my fishing pole_, _I fear losing my fishing pole_), one can calculate for the entire group the probability that each structure will be avoided. Sobin (1978b) has calculated such an index of avoidance for a range of complex sentence types. According to this index, certain complement types are avoided with consistency, among them -_ing_ complements.

---

*Other types of rules are a different issue, of course.

A final interesting point to make about the SQE is that the data it can provide are useful for elaborating general theoretical work in linguistics. Thus, Sobin's (1978b) finding that relative clauses formed on the subject of the relative clause are much more common than relative clauses formed on the object of the relative clause parallels Keenan and Comrie's (1977) finding of the greater accessibility of rules for relativizing subjects.*

The ultimate goal of the study was to correlate all data types and sources: sociolinguistic background, written English analysis, and English syntax questionnaire analysis. During the last two years, Judy McQuade has been working on this correlation, but determining the correlation has been extraordinarily difficult because of the different types and quantities of data from subjects. Nevertheless, the implications of the three main data sources remained clear, so we began to experiment with various pedagogic activities. It is to these activities that I now turn.

INSTRUCTIONAL APPLICATIONS

First, let me note a few additional details concerning the linguistic situation of the population we were working with. Pan American University is an open admissions institution. The ACT scores of entering freshmen were in the bottom 1-2 percentiles nationally. Average reading levels were at the 9-10th grade level. The failure rate in freshman composition was approximately 50%. In the same year the research project was begun, a new "remedial" English composition course was instituted.*

---

*See also Sobin (1977b, 1978a) for other analyses of general theoretical interest that grew out of SQE data.

The results of our study pointed the way. Because there was very little interference, a contrastive approach was obviously uncalled for. Because there were really very few basic language errors, a basic oral competence program obviously was not what was needed. Thus, we, like many people, "discovered" and turned to sentence combining as the best way to increase morpho-syntactic flexibility, to iron out basic orthographic problems, and to put the writing process in the context of meaningful communication rather than in the hunt-for-and-avoid-errors or sentence-parsing contexts that plague remedial/developmental writing instruction. In other words, we determined to emphasize development over remediation.

In 1977-1978 our research results were not all in so we did not then feel that we could mount full-dress experiments. However, we did begin experimenting with sentence combining, using a certain number of controls and evaluations.**

Consequently, when I taught a section of the remedial writing course in the spring of 1978, I used Strong's (1973) sentence-combining text and a punctuation/usage workbook that was then in common use at PAU.

---

*It may seem astounding that in such an institution a remedial course was begun only in 1975. However, every Texas state university has had the same difficulty in developing and implementing remedial ("developmental," "precomposition") courses because of funding restrictions imposed by the legislature. Until recently, many institutions have had to list these as optional courses, with less than adequate results.

**I am assuming here a minimum acquaintance with sentence-combining techniques. Comprehensive coverage of work on sentence combining may be found in Lawlor's (1980) review of the literature.

Because we had read of the benefits of sentence combining in developing reading ability, and because a reading laboratory had been recently installed, students were asked to spend a minimum of an hour a week in the reading lab. There they were also given pre-post versions of the Nelson-Denny reading test.

The exercises in the Strong book allow the use of a multiplicity of grammatical forms and processes, including coordination, reduced coordination, relative clauses, reduced relative clauses, appositives, relative-clause-to-adjective conversions, -ing, prepositional phrase movement, noun compounds, derivational morphology, pronominalization, adverbial subordination, reduced adverbial subordination, have-with conversion, and absolutes. Naturally, some of these forms are more difficult than others, and as the selections become more difficult, certain forms work better than others in creating fluid, comprehensible sentences.

My normal method of conducting class was as follows. Students were assigned a number of the selections from Strong (1973) to write each day. In class we went over each selection, moving up and down the rows of students so that each student offered at least one version of a combined sentence. Often students went to the board to write their sentences. Within a week students realized that while some combinations were wrong, many were also right. As each student gave the combined sentence, others asked, "How about this one?" or "Can you say this?" I collected and graded papers every day. Students kept journals and completed other writing assignments.

In class discussion of what could and could not be done, I did not focus on terminology. But I did use, without great fuss or even particular attention to the definitions, eight grammatical terms: noun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, conjunction, clause, phrase. These terms were used as convenient labels, not as ends in themselves. Several students soon began using them correctly.

Both the error analysis and the syntax questionnaire had revealed that while most of our students showed little interference from Spanish or other characteristics of basic deficiency in English, they did not use all the syntactic resources that English possesses. When I began working with sentence combining, I soon discovered that almost all the students had some knowledge of all the structures at some level. But the students were extremely inflexible, almost incapable at the beginning of seeing the myriad possibilities of combinations. In short, one reason that their writing was not good was that once they got started on a structure, they continued with it, seeing no other possibilities.

As students worked through the course, I could see them pass through stages of development. Take the use of the relative clause, for example. I think it fair to say that no one entering the course was ignorant of the relative clause, but few used it effectively or saw its relationship to other structures. Soon I could see that several students had "caught on" to the relative clause. Indeed, some became so enamored of the relative clause that they used it where no fluent writer would. They relativized subjects, objects, indirect objects, objects of prepositions, whole clauses--each of which has its own difficulties. Most students soon abandoned relatives for something else. One or two never did, but I considered this to be progress, too, for them.

Sentence combining has been used in both foreign-language instruction and in native-language instruction. In the former, students must be given a pattern against which to match and produce their output sentences, and patterns are usually first presented one at a time, out of context. In native-language instruction, it is often assumed that students already have the grammatical intuitions that enable them to produce a variety of combined output sentences. Thus, the exercises in native language instruction tend to be "open" (less structured).

I want to emphasize here that even the open sentence combining sparked, in a sense, a late stage of language acquisition, in which structures known passively (and perhaps often avoided) became structures known actively and productively. What we found was completely in accord with what has been found in several recent investigations of later phases of first-language acquisition (Ingram, 1975; Limber, 1973). Many structures are learned first as chunks--memorized whole, so to speak. Only later does the speaker/writer acquire productive command of them.

Finally, it is important to note one other aspect of the way this activity was conducted. While we first worked with different structures, the emphasis was on the students' simply seeing the equivalence and processes of forming various structures. But as soon as possible, considerations of rhetoric and style were introduced. I frequently asked students, "You could have used X or Y. Why did you choose X? What emphasis did you want to make? Why is X better than Y in this paragraph?" (One advantage of the Strong book is that each selection is a complete unit, which allows the possibility of moving from sentence to paragraph very quickly.)

I have indicated above my informal evaluation of the use of sentence combining (obviously, I liked it). There were, in addition, several more formal evaluations, even though we did not do a fully controlled experiment. One evaluation was the reading assessment. Table 8 shows the pre-post scores for the reading test. The gain scores were significant, according to a t-test of group means (pre-post). However, the highest gains do not necessarily correspond with the greatest number of hours spent in the reading lab; this leads me to suspect that much of the reading-level gain was due to the sentence combining.

Previous reports of the effects of sentence combining on reading have been inconclusive (Combs, 1977). Limited evidence leads me to think that sentence combining aids reading most for those students at the

Table 8

Nelson Denny Pre-Post Comparisons

Student	Number of Hours in Reading Lab	Total Score			Grade Level		
		Pretest	Posttest	Change	Pretest	Posttest	Change
1	8	45	54	+9	9.6	10.6	+1.0
2	0	25	32	+7	7.0	7.7	+.7
3	8	34	33	−1	8.0	7.9	−.1
4	7	25	34	+9	7.2	8.0	+.8
5	6	33	59	+26	7.9	11.1	+3.2
6	2	28	41	+13	7.2	9.0	+1.8
7	3	30	28	−2	7.5	7.2	−.3
8	6	18	20	+2	7.0	7.0	0
9	5	38	48	+10	8.6	9.9	+1.3
10	31	57	56	−1	11.0	10.8	−.2
11	7	19	34	+15	7.0	8.0	+1.0
12	8	17	20	+3	7.0	7.0	0
13	13	22	32	+10	7.0	7.7	+.7
14	15	28	51	+23	7.2	10.3	+3.1
15	12	22	33	+11	7.0	7.9	+.9
16	7	40	58	+18	9.0	11.0	+2.0
17	10	25	26	+1	7.0	7.2	+.2
18	0	11	15	+4	7.0	7.0	0
Mean	8.22	28.72	37.44	+8.72	7.73	8.63	.9

Grade-level comparison data:

English 1300.03	**7.73**
PAU Freshmen	**9.9**
National Norm Group	**13.3**

lower end of the continuum. Students who can read fairly well show more obvious, immediate gains in writing and relatively less progress in reading. Students with serious problems in both reading and writing show less immediate improvement in writing but more immediate progress in reading.

A second evaluation concerned tracking the students' progress through the university and, in particular, through the two regular, required English courses. We had compiled baseline data from 1972, 1975, and 1976 (the first year of the remedial course) to use in gauging the effectiveness of the remedial course by seeing if students who passed it were more likely to be successful in the regular course. From these data we knew that in the first two years the remedial course was ineffective, and we wanted to compare the progress of students who had studied sentence combining with those who had not.

Obviously, these indirect measures of effectiveness take time. I do not have the results because I left PAU in the summer of 1979, a bit too early to determine the success rate in English 1301 and 1302 for students who had taken the experimental sentence-combining section of English 1300 in the spring of 1978. But my impression, from preliminary figures compiled in the spring of 1979, was that their success rate in 1301 was considerably higher than it was for non-sentence-combining students. Of course, I hasten to add all the necessary cautions: lack of time, small group, lack of controls, and so on.

The third evaluation would be perhaps the most obvious to undertake, but, unfortunately, we were not able to accomplish this evaluation because our energies were consumed by the analysis of the primary data. Clearly, we should have analyzed directly the experimental group's pre-post writing, focusing on both errors and elaboration. I hope that readers planning similar experiments will not omit this important step.

A similar experiment was conducted in a local high school. In 1978-79, a graduate student who was a high school English teacher, Mary Ann Pusey, used sentence combining in her senior English classes in a manner very similar to that described earlier. (The ethnic, socioeconomic, and sociolinguistic characteristics of her students were nearly identical to those of PAU students.)

To evaluate students' progress, Pusey administered the reading comprehension section of the California Achievement Test, compiled baseline data for syntactic elaboration in the writing of ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth graders at the school, and did a pre-post elaboration analysis of the writing of the twelfth grade students.

Her results were similar to those at PAU. Reading scores increased an average of almost 7% (though because her project was also a pilot, she unfortunately had no control group for comparison). Again, those students who were least advanced at the outset made the largest gains. Students in the lowest tercile of the pretest made the largest gains, 14%. Those in the middle tercile had average gains of 6%, and those in the highest tercile of the pretest averaged gains of 3%.

Table 9

-ing, Relative Clauses per 100 Words

(from Pusey, 1979)

	August	May
-ing	1.54	1.90
relative clause	.68	1.43

Because Pusey performed pre-post elaboration analyses, she had a more direct measure than we did at the university. Table 9 shows growth in two types of embeddings in the August to May period. An additional important observation is that in the August samples, only which and that were used as relativizers; in May, who and whose were used as well.

To summarize briefly, my experience is that sentence combining can be effective in situations such as those I have described. However, I would like to caution that sentence combining is not a panacea. It does not cure all ills. It requires hard work and much time on the part of the student (I normally tell students that I can't guarantee that they'll learn how to write, but that I can guarantee a good case of writer's cramp). There are casualties--students who cannot or will not put in the time necessary. These universal and constant problems aside, sentence combining is the best way I know to get students who have had little success or interest in using the written language to develop some measure of each.

CONCLUSION

What are the writing needs of Hispanic students? Extensive research with Mexican-American students (not recent immigrants) shows few special language problems. This statement in no way denies that there may be a coherent speech variety identifiable as Mexican-American English characterized by features of phonology (Amastae, 1981b), lexicon, and syntax. Some of these features may be traceable to historical interference from Spanish. But most of these variants did not constitute significant problems in the writing examined. Nor can it be denied that a few students exhibited clear signs of second-language learner's errors, but these students were a distinct minority.

However, the research does show lack of literacy in at least three senses: lack of orthographic practice and awareness, lack of standard usage, and most important, lack of syntacticization* (which, like the other two, is hardly unique to Hispanic students). My experience is that at least one technique of teaching writing is particularly effective in fostering growth in syntactic complexity, and that is sentence combining. The fact that sentence combining involves the use of language in context, as opposed to grammatical drills, parsing, etc., is especially important, as is the fact that it can, and should, be naturally used in conjunction with social sciences, science, and every other subject in the curriculum.

---

*Syntacticization is Givón's (1979) term for the process, both ontogenetic and phylogenetic, whereby language becomes more separated from the specific place and time of utterance and becomes more tightly structured in syntax. Linguists have long observed that some languages favor paratactic (loosely coordinated) over hypotactic (tightly subordinated) syntax. Givón observes that hypotactic languages tend to be just those languages with long literate traditions, that these languages were once paratactic, and that even in hypotactic languages, the normal informal discourse mode is paratactic. What all students need to do, then, is to move from parataxis to hypotaxis. The only difference between Hispanic and non-Hispanic students (again, excluding recent immigrants who clearly need ESL) may be that the former group has been delayed in this transition because of lack of serious educational opportunity.

REFERENCES

Amastae, J. Family background and bilingualism. The Journal of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest, 1978, 3, 132-150. (a)

Amastae, J. Sociolinguistic background of Pan American University students. In A. Lozano (Ed.), The SWALLOW VII Proceedings. Boulder, CO: 1978. Pp. 132-141. (b)

Amastae, J. First language. In F. Barkin & E. Brandt (Eds.), Speaking, singing, and teaching: A multidisciplinary approach to language variation. (Proceedings of the VIII Southwest Areal Language and Linguistics Workshop.) Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University Anthropological Research Paper #20, 1980. Pp. 14-32. (a)

Amastae, J. Sociolinguistic variation and markedness. In E. Blansitt & R. Teschner (Eds.), A festschrift for Jacob Ornstein. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1980. Pp. 10-18. (b)

Amastae, J. Language maintenance and language shift in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of South Texas. In F. Barkin, E. Brandt, & J. Ornstein (Eds.), Bilingualism in the borderlands. New York: Teacher's College Press, 1981. (a).

Amastae, J. Learner continuums and speech communities. Papers in Linguistics, 1981, 14, 1-2. (b)

Combs, W. Sentence-combining practice aids reading comprehension. Journal of Reading, 1977, 21, 18-24.

Craddock, J. Lexical analysis of Southwest Spanish. In J. D. Bowen & J. Ornstein (Eds.), Studies in Southwest Spanish. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1976. Pp. 45-71.

DiPietro, R. Language structures in contrast. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1978.

Fishman, J. et al. Bilingualism in the barrio. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971.

Givón, T. On understanding grammar. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Hensey, F. Toward a grammatical analysis of Southwest Spanish. In J. D. Bowen & J. Ornstein (Eds.), Studies in Southwest Spanish. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1976. Pp. 29-44.

Hunt, K. Grammatical structures written at three grade levels. Champaign, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965.

Ingram, D. If and when transformations are acquired by children. In D. P. Dato (Ed.), Developmental psycholinguistics: Theory and application. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1975.

Keenan, E., & Comrie, B. Noun phrase accessibility and universal grammar. Linguistic Inquiry, 1977, 8, 63-99.

Lawlor, J. Improving student writing through sentence combining: A literature review. 1980. ERIC No. ED 192 356.

Limber, J. The genesis of complex sentences. In T. Moore (Ed.), Cognitive development and the acquisition of language. New York: Academic Press, 1973. Pp. 169-185.

Loban, W. Language development: Kindergarten through grade 12. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1976.

McQuade, J. On errors and elaboration in freshman themes. In A. Lozano (Ed.), The SWALLOW VII Proceedings. Boulder, CO: 1978. Pp. 122-131.

McQuade, J. Factors affecting performance in Pan American University composition. In F. Barkin & E. Brandt (Eds.), Speaking, singing, and teaching: A multidisciplinary approach to language variation. (Proceedings of the VIII Southwest Areal Language and Linguistics Workshop.) Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University Anthropological Research Paper #20, 1980. Pp. 227-334.

Nie, N. et al. Statistical package for the social sciences. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975.

Ornstein, J., & Goodman, P. Socio-educational correlates of Mexican-American bilingualism. In W. Mackey & J. Ornstein (Eds.), Sociolinguistic studies in language contact: Methods and cases. The Hague: Mouton, 1979. Pp. 393-421.

Pusey, M. Sentence combining: A pilot project. Unpublished term paper. Pan American University, 1979.

Schumann, J. The pidginization hypothesis. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1978.

Sobin, N. On the study of syntax and bilingualism. In B. Hoffer & B. L. Dubois (Eds.), Sociolinguistics then and now. San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1976. Pp. 247-253.

Sobin, N. English syntax questionnaire. Unpublished manuscript. Pan American University, 1977. (a)

Sobin, N. Notes on the acquisition of interrogative questions. 1977. ERIC No. ED 144 377. (b)

Sobin, N. On echo questions in English. In D. Lance & D. Gulstad (Eds.), The Proceedings of the 1977 Mid-America Linguistics Conference. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977. Pp. 247-259. (c)

Sobin, N. Echo questions and wh-movement. Unpublished manuscript, 1978. (a)

Sobin, N. On complex sentence construction. In A. Lozano (Ed.), The SWALLOW VII Proceedings. Boulder, CO: 1978. Pp. 112-121. (b)

Sobin, N. On transference and inversion. In E. Blansitt & T. Teschner (Eds.), A festschrift for Jacob Ornstein. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1980. Pp. 265-273.

Strong, W. Sentence combining: A composing book. New York: Random House, 1973.

AMERICAN INDIAN CHILDREN AND WRITING: AN INTRODUCTION TO SOME ISSUES

Lance D. Potter
University of Southern California

This paper provides an orientation to the writing needs of American Indian students. Since the general public knows relatively little about American Indians and their educational environment, the paper covers a wide range of subjects relevant to the literacy of Indian children. Since comparatively little research has been done in this area, the paper describes some of the complexities that face teachers and researchers who seek to investigate the writing of Indian students.

The first part of the paper discusses the wide variety of linguistic and cultural environments in which Indian children live. Subsequently, in two fairly specific sections, writing is considered among two groups of Indian children: native speakers of English and native speakers of Indian languages. The final section offers some speculations about the nature of the writing task and suggests how writing develops in the mature writer. Some suggestions are offered that follow from the proposed general framework of writing development.

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Prior to Western colonization, tremendous cultural diversity existed among North American Indians. As the

European settlers advanced across the continent, Indian people resisted acculturation to Western life. Only a small number of those pre-colonial tribes survived (200 of the estimated 1,000 tribal languages of North America are still spoken), but those tribes that exist today reflect the linguistic and cultural heterogeneity of pre-European North America. Of the extant Indian languages in the United States, some are spoken by only a few elders of small tribes, while others are the native languages of thousands of people. Furthermore, Indian languages are mutually unintelligible, making the linguistic backgrounds of Indian people difficult to speak of as an aggregate.

Neither do Indians share a single culture. While broad similarities exist, the "inward focus" of these cultures has allowed them to develop in independent ways. Indians have actively sought to remain distinct from Western culture, and because of their geographic isolation, they have in large part succeeded. Also, the cultural focus in most Indian communities is inward, towards the community, rather than towards non-Indian society.

While Indian people remain resolute in their desire to live as Indians and not as assimilated ethnic groups, economic realities have forced tribal people to involve themselves in wage labor within the larger society. Since wage earners are invariably immersed in an all-English environment, reservation communities have experienced a gradual replacement of Native languages by English and an accompanying attrition of Native culture. As a result, tribes have retained varying degrees of ancestral language and culture. For example, on the Navajo reservation, Navajo is the first language of virtually all persons over thirty and of most people under thirty. A few hundred miles south, however, in the Pueblos, many persons under thirty speak little or none of their tribal language. In these communities, the language environment is quite unstable, with each generation speaking a slightly different combination of languages. Still different are the tribes in areas where Anglo influence has been much stronger, as in the eastern United States and California. In these regions, many tribes have lost their language altogether, and many have been completely absorbed by the local population.

Educational Settings

About half of all Indian people live in their ancestral communities, most of which are now federal reservations. On the reservation, education is under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Indian children who live near off-reservation towns sometimes attend local public schools, an option that is becoming increasingly common on many reservations. Although missionaries still maintain schools on some reservations, parochial schools once educated a much larger number of Indian students than they do today. However, many Indian children still attend these schools, which were among the earliest types of Western education offered to Indian people. In recent years, some Indian communities have sought a fourth alternative for educating their children. Tired of what they believe to be unacceptable educational standards in the schools, some tribes have established locally run, community-controlled schools, which are typically bilingual schools, staffed by parents and community volunteers.

This variety of educational environments makes it more difficult to develop a clear picture of the kinds of problems that Indian children are having in learning to write and of the range of solutions that are being employed. No extensive information is currently available on either of these matters.

Language Education

Indian children are enrolled in educational programs that range from monolingual to multilingual. Many are enrolled in all-English schools, regardless of what language they speak at home. Thus, a considerable number of Indian children with non-English backgrounds receive English-only education (O'Malley, 1978). A second common option is instruction in English as a second language (ESL). In school systems where they represent a small percentage of the population, Indians are often given ESL pull-out classes and receive all of their content-course education in English. Indian children often receive "enrichment" English or supplementary ESL because of low test scores in English. By the fourth grade, many Indian children are as much as two full years behind the national norms of standardized achievement tests (for a portrait of Indian education, see Fuch and Havighurst, 1972).

However, some Indian children do receive bilingual education. Federal Title VII bilingual programs currently serve about 40 Indian language groups, although many programs represent a single school per language. In addition, many community-controlled schools provide all of their education in two languages. As is the case with bilingual education throughout the United States, these programs are not uniform, so it is nearly impossible to generalize about the treatment of literacy in Indian-language bilingual programs.

Language Maintenance

Language maintenance is becoming a major issue among Indian people. The rate at which Indian languages are disappearing concerns both national Indian leaders and the affected tribes. At present, about one language a year is lost forever because all its native speakers have died. Many other languages have speakers only in the oldest generation. In time, these languages, too, will be lost. In order to counter this trend, many tribes have begun making efforts--including bilingual and Native-as-a-second-language educational programs--to insure that their languages continue to flourish.

Literacy is a fairly controversial part of the language-maintenance process for a number of reasons.

Many Indian people are opposed to employing literacy to preserve what has been an oral tradition. They feel that the adoption of an orthography denies the vitality of their cultural heritage. In other tribes, leaders have begun aggressive literacy programs to archive as much information as possible and to incorporate the ancestral language more fully into the educational system and the daily lives of tribal members.

Tribes that are seeking to provide Native-language literacy skills face many difficulties. If there is no tradition of literacy, an orthography must be developed. This complex technical task can often take years, as linguists and native speakers attempt to decide how best to represent the language in an accurate, practical system. Other problems arise from dialect variations that result in numerous pronunciations for a single word, making it difficult to decide how best to represent it. Once an orthography is developed, materials must be produced and printed--an expensive process, especially when very small amounts of material are being produced. No commercial publishers in the United States produce educational materials in Indian languages, and federally and tribally produced materials fall far short of the need.

Another problem in developing literacy in the ancestral language is that the adult populations must be taught to read in their first language. Since most Indian languages have been exlusively oral until recently, most adult Native-language speakers can read only English. At present, literacy in most American Indian languages is quite low, generally less than 10%. Thus, literacy development in many tribes must be a community-wide effort. If children alone are taught to read these languages, they will have little incentive to continue reading and writing them. When the general population makes little use of literacy in the community language, the value of biliteracy is reduced. Without the motivation provided by being able to use Native-language reading skills at home, Indian children may lose these skills relatively quickly.

Local Influences on Indian Language Background

Many Indian children come from homes where they are exposed to languages other than English. Frequently, a child's parents will speak a Native language at home, although they may have intentionally not transmitted it to the child. For Indians educated in the Federal boarding-school system, the use of their native tongues is often associated with oppression by the larger society. Many Indian people suffered severe treatment for trying to maintain their first language when they were sent away to boarding schools. These institutions sought to acculturate Indian people by forcing them to adopt English at the expense of their native languages. From those experiences, many Indian parents concluded that they should not teach their children the language of the community for fear that it could lead to punishment in school and discrimination of the sort they themselves had felt as speakers of a language other than English.

However, children exposed to a language in their early years typically develop some fluency in it. One source of this Indian-language influence in many tribal communities is the grandparents. Indian people commonly live in extended families, with three generations sharing the same household. Often if grandparents are in the home, they will participate actively in raising children. Because the vast majority of Indian people over fifty are speakers of a non-English language, exposure to grandparents is often a means by which Indian children learn the language of their community, even when it may not be used throughout the community.

Attitudes toward indigenous languages vary from community to community and from family to family. Indian parents often disagree as to whether children should be taught Indian languages. Such differences of opinion lead to children from the same community having different language backgrounds. While some parents may teach their children the local Indian language, others may make sure that their children learn only English because they believe that an Indian language will impede their children's progress in English.

Regardless of the degree to which Indian languages are still spoken in Native communities in the United States, English is increasingly becoming the first language of Indian people. Currently more than half of all Indian children speak English upon entering school and virtually all Indian children grow up to be English speakers, regardless of what other languages they may speak. With each successively older generation, an individual is more likely to be a limited speaker of English. These changes have not come about overnight; the pressure of English in Indian communities has been increasing throughout the century, but most visibly since World War II, when many Indian men joined the military and many Indian women worked in defense plants.

Educators need to be sensitive to the individual language backgrounds of Indian children. In the past, these children have been lumped together too quickly as "limited" English speakers, with little concern for their individual language development. The attitude of the school towards the language abilities of the students will have a dramatic effect upon the way in which children come to view the language(s) they speak. These attitudes should be agreed upon by parents and teachers, rather than assumed as administrative policies.

Varieties of English in Indian Communities

English was introduced to Indian communities at various times throughout the last three hundred years. Some Indians in the southwestern United States, for example, were probably not exposed to English until the 1920's (Miller, 1977), although most western tribes have had some contact with English since the railroads moved westward during the middle to late 19th century. Although many Indian people have been speaking English for some time, their varieties of English have rarely been described. Of the two hundred Indian cultural and linguistic groups in the United States, only about fifteen have been investigated even superficially with respect to their variety of English. Most of those studies have been done on Southwestern tribes (Wolfram, Christian, Potter, and Leap, 1979).

Indians initially learned English as a trade language, necessary for bartering with outsiders and later for dealing with the United States government. For the most part, however, Indian communities have attempted to remain closed to outside influences and to outsiders in general. In these circumstances, English had little effect on the linguistic life of the community. As the boarding-school system expanded, large numbers of Indian children were removed from their homes and received their education in English. Because of the boarding schools and because of exposure to English from missionaries, English began to make inroads into Indian life. These two language learning environments have led to the development of distinct varieties of English in Indian communities.

In both boarding schools and missions, Indian learners of English were exposed to few models of native English. Brown (1973) suggests that speakers employ first-language (L1) knowledge in making hypotheses about their second language (L2). He calls this process "creative construction." Krashen (1981) suggests that the greatest influence from L1 on the emerging L2 exists when "natural appropriate intake is scarce and where translation exercises are frequent" (p. 66). This description seems to fit quite closely the linguistic environments in which many Indians were first exposed to English. The diversity of Indian dialects of English may in part be attributable to the substitution of L1 knowledge, from a wide range of languages, into the L2, English.

Malancon and Malancon (1977) reported on the English used in final written examinations by Indian high school students at the Haskell Institute (a typical BIA boarding school) in 1915. Their study identified a range of English grammatical problems that all the students had in common, but the frequency of specific "errors" varied among language groups. For example, speakers of Crow English made certain types of errors more frequently than did speakers of Creek English, who in turn showed a different set of errors from the common pool.

Given the lack of English models, both at the boarding school and upon returning home to the reservations, it is not surprising that tribal-specific varieties of English have developed throughout the United States. Neither is it surprising that these varieties have been maintained through at least two generations until today. The English acquired by turn-of-the-century students was no doubt far from native-like. With little motivation to learn English and with few native-speaker models, most Indian people returned to the reservation while still in the process of acquiring English. Once there, however, the need to speak English more fluently, or perhaps at all, diminished quickly. The ensuing process is called "fossilization": When learners perceive that their communication needs are met, they stop improving their command of an L2. In the generations since the Indians' initial contact, subsequent generations have often received much the same exposure to English as their parents: isolated from native English speakers and perhaps with L2 fossilized models as their primary source of language data. Thus, distinct varieties of English developed in reservation communities in the United States.

Nevertheless, this language situation is far from stable; the trend is toward less community-specific and more mainstream, regionally oriented English. The youngest school generation typically shows the most mainstream form, while the oldest generation may speak the original form of English brought into the community.

INDIAN ENGLISH AND WRITING: ONE STUDY

In a recent study, Wolfram et al. (1979) investigated the effects of Indian English on the reading and writing skills of elementary school students. The researchers studied the linguistic features of local varieties of English and then sought to determine the extent to which features of the local English could be found in reading and writing samples gathered in the schools. A few examples from that research exemplify some of the more obvious ways in which non-mainstream English can surface in writing.

The research was done with two U.S. Southwestern reservation tribes. By agreement with the tribes, their names are not used, and they are referred to here as communities A and B. Both communities have BIA schools, and the schools use English as the primary language of instruction. In one community, an "enrichment" bilingual program offers Indian-language instruction on a volunteer pull-out basis. Both communities are examples of a shifting language situation in which the local Indian language is spoken primarily by adults. All the children in the study spoke English. At the request of both communities, no attempt was made to investigate the extent of Native language use among the children. The Native languages of the two communities are mutually unintelligible.

The researchers gathered oral interviews from community members of all ages and reading and writing samples from elementary-age subjects. All of the data were analyzed for grammatical and phonological features, and the researchers looked for instances of influence or interference that could be traced from the oral language into the reading and writing samples. Two categories of influence were identified: (1) variations from normative English that are traceable to local Indian English linguistic features and (2) features that appear traceable to generalized non-mainstream English--that is, to features of American English that have become diffused into the language of the Indian speakers.

Phonological influences in the written work of these Indian children were more frequent than grammatically influenced "errors." This result reflects the oral language of the young children in both communities. While their spoken grammar showed fewer nonmainstream features than the speech of their elders, the children retained many of the more distinctive phonological features of their community varieties of English. The authors concluded that the exclusive use of phonics in the school reading programs increased the number of phonologically influenced miscues in writing. The examples below give the spoken feature of the Indian English variety and the corresponding written manifestations of the feature (see Wolfram et al., 1979, pp. 356-370).

Spoken feature:	/ɛn/ alternating with /ɪŋ/ in syllable final unstressed positions: This very common spoken feature in community A occurs over 90% of the time in natural conversation.
Writing:	He will be in the stinken hospital. They are always fighten. Thats when I got this felen (feeling).
Comment:	Students showed correct usage of -ing in other writing samples and never graphemically reduced it to -in'. In community B, where this oral alternation is not present, such examples did not occur in writing.
Spoken feature:	/d/ replacing /ð/: This feature is common to all age groups in community A.
Writing:	Thats when I called de police.
Comment:	The student used the correctly elsewhere; the is one of the most fundamental words for beginning writers,

making it unlikely that this fifth grader did not know the correct spelling. Such a phonetically accurate rendering is probably a lapse in self-monitoring.

Spoken feature: /æ/ alternating with /ɛ/: pronunciations such as /kɛndi/ 'candy' and /tælz/ 'tells' are common in the speech of community A.

Writing:
. . . than they came to a road
I like him more then anybody.
. . . than a hunter cam along

Comment: Fifth and sixth grade students certainly know the semantic difference between then and than and they had the opportunity to edit; yet none of them did so in these cases. They apparently felt that the semantic distinctions were intact and that the merger of then and than was phonological.

Spoken feature: /hw/: In both communities aspiration of /w/ occurs in words that are not aspirated in mainstream English.

Writing:
. . . then I could go whith you.
. . . but he does not whant to go.

Comment: As with the other examples, it seems reasonable to assume that students were aware of the correct spellings, but "sounded out" these versions of with and want and failed to detect the misspellings. Non-mainstream /hw/ clusters were regularly found in the oral reading samples from these students.

All these examples came from community A because of the sampling procedure. In community A, the writing samples were gathered in an informal writing exercise in which the students wrote anything that pleased them. The focus, then, was on content and not on form. Under those circumstances the students made considerably more oral language transfer "errors" as they concentrated on getting their thoughts on paper. Conversely, in community B, the students wrote an assigned-topic, formal essay on a standard school subject. Those writing samples showed some grammatical influence from oral language, but relatively little evidence of phonological transfer. The writing samples from community B show much more evidence of having been written with an emphasis on correctness.

Grammatical features from oral language were also found in the writing sample.

Spoken feature: subject-verb concord: Elementary-age speakers in both communities employ some non-mainstream concord, primarily with *be* forms and in irregular verb conjugations.

Writing:
There is a lot of girl*s*.
That's all the girl*s* . . .
The *teachers* I hate *is* . . .
Once they *was* three little *pig*.
The *knights* that came in *was* killed . . .

Comment: Most of the non-mainstream concord was restricted to number agreement on forms of *be*. In older generations, a wider variety of concord relationships can be found in spoken language. Other verb forms that surfaced in both the written and oral styles of these communities are common in almost all styles of American English and reflect the regionalization of English in these communities. These forms include the use of past preterit for past participle, as in *She will get* beat up by me. Left-dislocation constructions (e.g., Another woman, she was sunburned) were also found in the writing samples, where such constructions are generally not allowed. Like the use of preterite for participle, left dislocations are common in speech and appear to represent the work of immature writers rather than examples of Indian English dialect.

Spoken feature: introductory use of that of those.

Writing: . . . that fat boy eats the wrappers
. . . we were watching and those kids that were with us . . .

Comment: In mainstream English, that and those refer to something previously introduced into the discourse. In community A, however, speakers may use these forms to introduce subjects for the first time.

Spoken feature: selective reclassification of nouns.

Writing: I saw a profootball. The K.C. Chiefs play the L.A. Rams . . .
and they were at the football and they were showing off.

Comment: In oral language, certain reclassifications were attested, primarily among older speakers. They were found in both communities, but appeared to be restricted to the speech of individuals, or perhaps to single forms (i.e., potteries). Among younger speakers, some of these forms may be developmental, e.g., two deers, the mens. The use of the modifier football or profootball as a noun appears to represent such a reclassification.

Positive identification of oral language influence on grammatical features of written English is difficult because the source of such "miscues" can be explained as grammatical, random (i.e., mechanical deletion errors), or phonological. An example is the deletion of word final suffixes, e.g., plural and past tense markers:

> He think_ he is so smart . . .
> The dog_ sat and barked. They barked all
>   night.
> She jump__ down after that.
> I look__ around . . ..

Wolfram et al. (1979) conclude that among the youngest generations these deletions are phonologically conditioned, although in some cases the older generations probably deleted these consonants as a result of grammatical influences from their L1. However, the source of such miscues in writing must remain in question because of the frequency with which writers accidentally leave the endings off words. Whiteman (1980) has suggested that writers tend to drop bound morphemes (e.g., -s, -ed) as a function of the writing process, independent of oral language influence. In the samples taken from these Indian communities, such elements were found deleted in environments that would not trigger deletion in spoken language. The source of a number of similar patterns--for example, the deletion of articles (a, the) and prepositions (to)--is also undetermined. Many times a convergence of elements may play a part in the generation of written-language features.

Such considerations are important when assessing the writing of an Indian student (or any non-mainstream or bilingual speaker of English). As these examples have shown, some apparent errors in the writing of Indian students are in a very real sense not errors at all. They represent dialect variations and in many cases have little effect upon the students' ability to learn.

What conclusions can be drawn from this single detailed study of oral-language influence on the writing of American Indian children? The first conclusion is that such studies are not generalizable. Although errors in Indian students' writing will be influenced by their home language backgrounds, we cannot conclude that Indian children in general will write then for than. Even the nature of the writing task will affect the influence of oral language on the writing of young students. The instructional methods used will also have an effect on the nature of writing variation. Phonics instruction will apparently cause oral language to affect students' writing. Students who learn to "sound out" words accurately will, of course, produce apparent errors if their oral language differs significantly from the standard written form. Such "miscues" (Goodman and Buck, 1973; Goodman and Burke, 1972) can provide the teacher with evidence that students are progressing in phonics instruction. Most such errors will correct themselves and will likely appear variantly. Examples such as then/than may appear to be more serious problems than they are, unless teachers are aware of the oral language spoken by local students.

Influence or Interference?

Non-mainstream variation has been commonly assumed to interfere with the use of "standard" English and presumably with children's ability to learn subject matter. This concept of language interference can be detrimental to students if it is taken too seriously. While problems that interfere with students' ability to learn should, of course, be removed, it is becoming increasingly certain that a non-mainstream variety of English does not interfere with students' ability to succeed in school. That is, students' ability to comprehend, to communicate, and to develop may bear evidence of their linguistic background, but it is incorrect to assume that progress cannot be made until children have been taught Standard English. In this sense, the distinction between influence and interference becomes relevant. Teachers must decide whether any given variation from normative writing is a genuine hindrance to students' ability to communicate. If students are able to comprehend English and express ideas clearly, despite some written features that stem from oral language, then the oral language of students will probably not be an educational barrier of itself. This view suggests that writing instruction should not emphasize the dialect, but should focus on other problems. In this way, students are not faced with the fear that their language is somehow inferior, and teachers are not faced with the near impossible task of altering community standards for speaking English. Considerable sociological evidence suggests that students' speech patterns cannot be changed from the norms of the community. Many low-level dialect influences in writing, especially in elementary-age students, will likely disappear on their own as the students' formal skills in English continue to develop.

The Wolfram et al. (1979) study also suggests the great need for educational research on Indian English in general and on writing specifically. At present, the research in this nascent field has concentrated on description of the linguistic variables common to Indian English. While this approach is necessary and useful, investigations need to study the writing of Indian children from a more holistic perspective in order to increase the number of valid generalizations that can be made about Indian children and English literacy. Such research could investigate, for example, relationships between Native discourse style and the story-development style of young Indian writers. Since Indian cultures have traditionally been oral, with story telling an important means of transmitting cultural knowledge, the narrative intuitions of Indian children would probably be different from those of their non-Native counterparts.

LITERACY OF BILINGUAL INDIAN CHILDREN

Thus far we have been considering cases in which children come to school speaking English as their first, or perhaps only, language. Although the children may speak a non-mainstream variety of English, initial literacy should clearly be in English in such cases. Several other scenarios are possible, however, and some of them require difficult choices. In a number of tribes in the United States, children entering school speak only the Native language of their home community. In some cases, the children may speak some English as the result of exposure to English-speaking family, neighbors, etc. A problem that has yet to be consistently addressed is that of determining the language in which these children will first learn to read and write.

At one time, school children were always taught to read and write in English only, regardless of their language background. Even today, while non-English-speaking children may receive some education in their mother tongue, literacy is most often initiated in English. It will be suggested here that literacy should be initiated in whatever language the child is most proficient, which in most cases is the language of the home. In order to explicate this view fully, views on two language-related areas are discussed: the interaction of L1 and L2 in early education, and the nature of the writing task.

Control of a language other than English was once generally believed to be a detriment to learning. Perhaps the most powerful actualization of this theory was in Federal policies toward Indian languages during the 19th and most of the 20th centuries. Federal boarding schools went to great lengths to insure that native speakers of Indian languages were unable to use them even conversationally in the education system that they were forced into. Severe punishment was common for students who sought to retain their mother tongue in the all-English schools. It was believed that unless the Indians abandoned their "heathen tongues," their English abilities and therefore their amount of formal education could never be increased.

Strains of this extreme theory can still be heard in this decade, voiced by opponents of bilingual education. They argue that to "force" pupils to learn in two languages essentially doubles the intellectual burden on them. Two languages, in effect, are twice as difficult as one. As in decades past, such arguments are frequently supported by suggestions that since the United States is an English-speaking country, promoting multilingualism is, in effect, un-American (for a good example of this perspective, see Bethell, 1979).

Cummins (1981) has neatly characterized the two perspectives on bilingual proficiency. He calls them the Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) model and the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) model. A SUP model argues that children need additional instruction in English, not in their L1, in order to improve their English skills. This model contends that L1 and L2 proficiencies are separate and, consequently, skills and content learned in L1 cannot transfer into L2. This model has an intuitive appeal, since we tend to think of languages as distinct entities.

However, we know that information, concepts, and in fact almost anything can be translated into any number of languages with no loss of content. Thus, a strong version of the SUP model is certainly incorrect. More importantly, no research evidence whatsoever suggests that this theory about bilingual proficiency is correct in any form. On the contrary, sound evidence supports the theory that experience in either language (L1 or L2) can promote increased proficiency in both languages. The CUP model contends that a common store of linguistic and contextual information underlies the languages of the bilingual learner.

One important piece of evidence that supports the CUP model comes from an Indian bilingual program on the Navajo reservation--Rock Point. Rosier and Farella (1976) and Vorih and Rosier (1978) document the striking success of initial instruction in L1. Before the program began, the Navajo-speaking children of Rock Point were taught to read only in English and were the lowest in the BIA system on standardized reading tests. A Navajo initial literacy program was established in 1972. Students were taught to read in Navajo and began to read in English after about 2.5 years. When those students reached fifth grade, they were tested in English reading ability on the Stanford Achievement Test. They scored just .5 years behind the national norm, as compared to 2.1 years behind the norm for a composite of eight English-only BIA schools from the same reservation. At the end of the sixth grade, those students who had been in a total bilingual program from the first grade averaged one month above the national norm in English reading achievement. Additionally, of course, they are biliterate and bilingual. While Rock Point is impressive in part because it contrasts with the history of failure in Indian education, it is not alone as an example that initial literacy in L1 is easier on the child as a learning task and also provides more desirable long-term results.

Programs such as this work because students are allowed to use their linguistic abilities to the fullest. Learning to read involves employing real-world knowledge and linguistic concepts that have already been learned in L1. It also involves learning new concepts, such as phoneme-grapheme correspondences. Clearly, both of these tasks--employing old information and developing new--will be easier in the language with which the student is most familiar, that is, L1. When students begin learning a second language and attempt to master reading in it at the same time, they have twice the effort to make and little foundation from which to begin. On the other hand, when students are taught to read in L1 and then taught to read in L2, they can use L1 reading skills as the foundation for learning L2 reading.

Numerous authorities have stressed the role of context in making clear the meaning of utterances. Through interpersonal context or pragmatic information, we know that we have communicated our message and we are able to indicate whether we have understood what was said to us. Within a conversational context, the language learner is able to request clarification, change topic, repeat messages, etc. By controlling the context, we can increase the amount of comprehensible input that we transmit and receive. Crucial to this pragmatic information are facial expressions, vocal tones, turn-taking conventions, and a range of other devices that help us communicate.

Now compare that situation to reading. A written text has none of this information. Olson (1977) observes that written text is autonomous from context, provides no extralinguistic cues, and offers no interpersonal information whatsoever; in fact, it is addressed to no one in particular. Reading, then, is partially a matter of imbuing text with the information that we have stored in our heads. It is a process of decoding language that contains a poverty of information compared to that with which we deal orally. Given this state of affairs, it is easy to understand why the ability to speak a language (for example, an L2) with a certain proficiency might not translate into an equal ability to learn to read in that language, assuming that the skills of literacy have not yet been acquired in any language. In the first language, children have much greater command of the linguistic information that allows them to "bridge the gap" when the information available from conversational context is removed.

Let us turn these observations to a consideration of writing and learning to write. Again, as with reading, learning to write involves developing a language skill that is decontextualized. Bereiter and Scardamalia (1981) propose that learning to write is the problem of learning to convert a system geared to conversation into a system that can generate language independently. They suggest that in writing, students must perform a series of language tasks that they are not called upon to perform in conversation. These include producing language without prompting from conversational partners, independently drawing from memory rather than having memory triggered by conversation, planning large units of discourse rather than simple responses, and learning to function as both sender and receiver in order to edit and revise.

Apply these observations to a situation in which the students entering elementary school are native speakers of a language other than English. The cognitive demands placed on them if ESL and literacy in English are carried out simultaneously are clearly far greater than if the students are allowed to adapt well-established oral language skills in L1 into an L1 literacy program. Second-language acquisition studies have shown repeatedly that L2 learners go through a period in which their ability to produce the new language is not so great as their ability to comprehend it. If, as Bereiter and Scardamalia suggest, writing involves an extension of conversational skills into a more demanding mode of language use, young L2 learners could be at considerable disadvantage, since they may still lack the conversational tools that are available to native speakers of the same age. Such performance pressures and the feelings of inferiority that they cause are likely to have a detrimental effect on the young students' L2 development and their general attitude towards school.

Consequently, literacy skills--including both reading and writing--should be developed in the first language. Such instruction would ideally continue at least through students' elemetary education. Students who are taught L1 literacy skills from the beginning of their education benefit not only by becoming biliterate and bilingual, but also in the degree to which they master English. In Indian communities, such an approach has an additional advantage. Indian people often view the educational system as an imposition upon their community. Too often BIA schools, mission schools, and local non-Indian schools have remained unresponsive to the desires of Indian parents, who feel that the education being offered to their children denies the crucial link between home and school. In school, children speak in English only and are encouraged to do so. At home, parents and children are torn between the language of the school and the language of the home and community. School becomes something quite separate from the home and its linguistic and cultural life. Biliteracy brings with it the inestimable attitudinal advantage of making Indian parents an integral part of their children's education. Wherever this has happened, attendance, achievement, and community satisfaction with the local educational system have risen considerably.

THE ACQUISITION OF WRITING

Because American Indian children do not represent a homogeneous group of students, it would be foolish to claim that a single teaching methodology would work with children from all Indian communities. However, all writing programs should share certain characteristics, which are described below. These views on writing are in part theoretical and in part pedagogical, and many of them were originally developed within second-language acquisition research.

Two themes are central to this discussion: (1) the importance of reading in the development of writing skills and (2) the distinction between consciously and unconsciously gained knowledge. Krashen (1977, 1978a, 1981) has developed in detail the distinction between acquisition and learning. Acquisition, he contends, is a subconscious system for developing knowledge of a language. It is the primary means by which children acquire their first language, but it is both available and important to second language development as well. He comments,

> Acquirers need not have a conscious awareness of the "rules" of grammar they possess, and may self-correct on the basis of a "feel" for grammaticality. (1981, p. 2)

Learning, on the other hand, is the process by which language learners apply conscious knowledge of language to their output. It is "thought to be helped a great deal by error correction and the presentation of explicit rules" (Krashen, 1981, p. 2). Krashen outlines the interaction of these two systems in roughly this fashion:

> . . . utterances are initiated by the acquired system--our fluency in production is based on what we have "picked up" through active communication. Our "formal" knowledge . . . our conscious learning, may be used later to alter the output of the acquired system, sometimes before and sometimes after the utterance is produced. (1981, p. 2)

Certainly this distinction will not provide any complete solutions to teaching writing, particularly since the development of writing differs considerably from the development of oral language. Nevertheless, this distinction between acquisition and learning may be valuable toward achieving a framework within which to teach writing.

What might be the source of acquisitional input to writing ability? Oral language is not a good candidate since it varies in significant ways from writing. Reading, however, provides the student with precisely the model of writing that is needed. Through reading, the student develops an intuitive sense of the difference between oral and written communication. We cannot specify precisely what elements of writing students acquire, but they are probably more closely linked to style: a feeling for what kind of language is appropriate to a given task, a sense of how to account for audience, or perhaps an awareness of when a piece of writing communicates the message that was intended. Certainly this does not account for all the elements of good writing, nor is it intended to. The point is that some elements of writing are difficult, perhaps impossible, to teach and yet they surface in the writing of many successful students.

A correlational study done at the University of Southern California in the Freshman Writing Program (Krashen, 1978b) showed that students who were active pleasure readers, particularly during their adolescent years, were the students who benefitted most from writing instruction and who in general were the best writers. As would be predicted by the model of bilingual proficiency that was developed earlier, better L2 English writing students also seem to be active readers in English or in their native language.

It is not suprising that pleasure reading appears to be the source of acquired knowledge about writing. Drawing again from second-language theory, consider the concept of "affective filters" (Dulay and Burt, 1977), which refer to the acquirers' "openness" to the language being directed at them. The more receptive people are to the language they are acquiring, the more of it they will acquire. Thus, when readers are affectively receptive to the text being read, more knowledge about writing will be acquired. Acquisition occurs when the acquirer is concentrating on the message, not the form, when the message is comprehensible, and when the acquirer feels little pressure to "perform" (e.g., to memorize). Obviously, not only pleasure reading will result in acquisition; school-assigned reading may serve the same purpose, depending on the material and the student's relationship to it. In general, reading in which the student in interested in the content of the text (as distinct from situations in which the student is reading to memorize answers) will provide the greatest amount of input to the student's intuitive awareness of what constitutes good writing.

Another requirement for acquisition is comprehensibility. Language learners cannot acquire that which is beyond their ability to understand. If this hypothesis can be correctly applied to writing, we would predict that when students are assigned anything that is difficult to read, they will not get acquisitional input for writing skills. They may, of course, get other valuable knowledge, but it will not improve their understanding of how to write per se.

Although this model of writing development gives a central role to reading and the unconscious awareness that it promotes, teachers should still, of course, provide students with as much opportunity as possible to write and should provide writing exercises that give students every opportunity to develop a positive attitude about writing. Writers emerge slowly, and the successful "mature" writer may develop only in late secondary school or beyond. Teachers along the way must keep in mind the eventual "product" that they are helping to create and seek to foster a positive attitude about writing in every student. What follows are some suggestions that might help teachers of writing achieve this end.

Anxiety about writing ensures that writing will become an unhappy task. In young writers, anxiety may stem from the pressure of having to generate all the ideas and organize them without the aid of conversation. If writing blocks become serious, students may develop an aversion to writing at an early age. Teachers should ease this pressure by having students make lists, write group essays, draw picture essays, and engage in a variety of pre-writing exercises. Older students can be encouraged to try stream-of-consciousness writing. Elbow (1973) provides some good ideas for older writers with mental blocks.

To whatever degree possible, students should be encouraged to write about things that interest them. A sense that writing and the ideas expressed in writing are important will give students motivation to keep writing. Open-topic essays can allow each student to choose interesting and vital subject matter. Students should be encouraged to explore more fully topics that they have chosen independently.

Another motivational issue concerns error correction. Some writing conventions, such as simple punctuation or capitalization, are easily learned, and error correction may be beneficial. In general, however, rivers of red ink serve little purpose other than to raise the students' anxiety to prohibitive levels. The teacher should limit error correction to one or two items per paper; for example, correcting one type of spelling error. In this way the student will pay attention to the corrections that have been made. Over the long term, error correction probably has little effect, although the cumulative attitudinal effect of extensive error correction is decidedly negative. This must be balanced, of course, with student expectations about the role of the teacher (i.e., to correct errors).

Errors that are clearly acquisitional in source (in young children) should generally not be corrected. Evidence from language acquisition studies suggest that error correcting has little longitudinal effect on acquisition. The same is generally true of errors whose source is dialect, although teachers may want to initiate a separate program to make students aware of dialect differences. In any event, some writing should always be done on which there is no error correction at all. Such writing gives students an opportunity to experiment and allows all students to feel that they can successfully communicate in a written mode. Teachers should try to supply content-oriented comments on student papers, offering related ideas to suggest that writing is more than the avoidance of grammatical errors.

In this section, it has been suggested that reading provides students an intuitive sense of what constitutes effective writing. Encouraging reading may be a difficult task, since the home reading environment, which is not controlled by teachers, appears to have a significant effect on students' attitudes towards reading. Nevertheless, students who, at thirteen, hide under the blanket with a flashlight to finish their favorite book will, at eighteen, usually be the students who develop into effective writers.

CONCLUSION

Like American Indian children, the content of this paper has been far from homogeneous. Because Indian children come from such diverse backgrounds, it is in some sense fallacious to consider them a single group at all. Nevertheless, I have tried to present some of the complexities that characterize the education of Indian children and some of the problems that they face. In addition to a global look at the diversity of Indian populations in the United States, I have taken a microscopic look at dialect variation in the English writing of two groups of tribal students. The majority of these dialect differences do not per se affect students' ability to learn, but students may need to be made aware of the differences between their English and the English spoken by mainstream Americans. In general, the English of Indian people is becoming more mainstream (or perhaps more regionalized to non-Indian standards), and many Indian communities evidence several varieties of English among the three or four generations of community members. Gradually, in communities where less and less Indian language is being spoken, less influence of that language is being felt in the English spoken by community members.

Language maintenance can also affect the education of Indian young people. Many Indian communities are actively engaged in programs designed to revitalize the use of the Native language. Recognizing that these languages represent an irreplacable component of their cultures and community lives, people are attempting to stem the influence of English by instituting education programs in the Native language. Native-as-second-language literacy programs have begun in many Indian communities, as well as in urban areas with large concentrations of Indian people. For the most part, it is too early to tell how successful these programs will be.

Since thousands of Indian people speak English as their second language, I have considered the role of biliteracy in some Indian communities. After reviewing evidence from research on bilingualism, it has been suggested that reading and writing in the first language is most beneficial to the child's language abilty in both L1 and English. Unfortunately, many Indian communities face an uphill battle in developing biliteracy and L1 literacy programs in their educational systems because of economic problems as well as, in many cases, a lack of trained staff and a severe shortage of materials. In the current political climate, future assistance for such efforts will probably not come from anywhere except within the Indian community itself.

REFERENCES

Bereiter, C., & Scarmadalia, M. From conversation to composition: The role of instruction in a developmental process. In R. Glaser (Ed.), Advances in instructional psychology, Volume 2. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1981.

Bethell, T. Against bilingual education. Harper's, February, 1981.

Brown, R. A first language. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Cummins, J. The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for language minority students. Prepared for the California State Department of Education Compendium on Bilingual-Bicultural Education, 1981.

Dulay, H., & Burt, M. Remarks on creativity in language. In M. Burt, H. Dulay, & M. Finochiaro (Eds.), Viewpoints on English as a second language. New York: Regents, 1977. Pp. 95-126.

Elbow, P. Writing without teachers. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Fuch, E., & Havighurst, R. To live on this earth: American Indian education. New York: Doubleday, 1972.

Goodman, K., & Buck, C. Dialect barriers to reading comprehension revisited. The Reading Teacher, 1973, 27, 6-13.

Goodman, Y., & Burke, C. Reading miscue inventory. New York: Macmillan, 1972.

Krashen, S. The monitor model for adult second language performance. In M. Burt, H. Dulay, & M. Finochiaro (Eds.), Viewpoints on English as a second language. New York: Regents, 1977. Pp. 152-161.

Krashen, S. Adult second language acquisition and learning: A review of theory and practice. In R. Gingras (Ed.), Second language acquisition and foreign language teaching. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1978. Pp. 1-26. (a)

Krashen, S. On the acquisition of planned discourse: Written English as a second dialect. In M. Douglas (Ed.), Claremont Reading Conference 42nd Yearbook. Claremont, CA: Claremont Graduate School, 1978. Pp. 173-185. (b)

Krashen, S. Second language acquisition and second language learning. Oxford: Pergammon Press, 1981.

Malancon, R., & Malancon, M.J. Indian English at Haskell Institute, 1915. In W. Leap (Ed.), Studies in southwestern Indian English. San Antonio: Trinity University, 1977.

Miller, M. Children of the Salt River: First and second language acquisition among Pima children. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977.

Olson, D. R. From utterance to text: The bias of language in speech. Harvard Educational Review, 1977, 47, 257-281.

O'Malley, M. National children's English services study. Washington, DC: National Center for Educational Statistics, 1978.

Rosier, P., & Farella, M. Bilingual education at Rock Point: Some early results. TESOL Quarterly, 1976, 10, 379-388.

Vorih, L., & Rosier, P. Rock Point Community School: An example of a Navajo-English bilingual program. TESOL Quarterly, 1978, 12, 263-269.

Whiteman, M. Dialect influences in writing. Washington, DC: National Institute of Education, 1980.

Wolfram, W., Christian, D., Potter, L., & Leap, W. Variability in the English of two Indian communities and its effect on reading and writing. NIE final report #NIE-G-770006. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1979.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

JON AMASTAE is an Assistant Professor of Linguistics at the University of Texas at El Paso. He previously taught at Pan American University and at the University of Oregon. He has also been a Fulbright Professor of Linguistics at Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, Colombia. Dr. Amastae received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Oregon. In addition to his work in English composition, he has studied phonology, creoles, bilingualism, and Spanish.

ROBERT BERDAN is Coordinator of Language Acquisition Research at the National Center for Bilingual Research, located at SWRL Educational Research and Development. He received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Texas at Austin and completed a postdoctoral fellowship in clinical linguistics at UCLA's Neuropsychiatric Institute. Dr. Berdan has been associated with SWRL since 1971, and has studied the dialects of English used by children, especially Black English.

JOHN BAUGH is an Assistant Professor of Linguistics at the University of Texas at Austin, where he specializes in advanced analytic techniques for sociolinguistic analyses and is a member of the executive committee for Afro-American Studies. Dr. Baugh received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Pennsylvania. His research covers various aspects of Black English. He is also working on a literacy program for Black youths.

CAROLE EDELSKY is an Associate Professor of Elementary Education at Arizona State University. Her work is primarily in the areas of sociolinguistics and educational linguistics as applied to instruction. She is particularly concerned with the education of bilingual children and with sex-linked language. Dr. Edelsky received her Ph.D. in Curriculum and Instruction from the University of New Mexico. She has also taught at Florida International University.

MARYELLEN GARCIA is a Member of the Professional Staff at the National Center for Bilingual Research, located at SWRL Educational Research and Development. Her areas of specialization include Spanish syntax and semantics, the Spanish language in the United States, and English/Spanish discourse. Dr. García received her Ph.D. in Linguistics from Georgetown University and has taught courses in the Spanish language and in English as a second language.

LANCE POTTER is a doctoral candidate in Linguistics at the University of Southern California, where he received his M.A. in Linguistics and where he teaches freshman composition to international students. Mr. Potter was formerly a Research Assistant at the Center for Applied Linguistics. He has studied American Indian language maintenance and the use of English in two Indian communities, and has interpreted linguistic research on dialects of English.

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

SPEAKERS

Jon Amastae
University of Texas at El Paso

John Baugh
University of Texas at Austin

Robert Berdan
National Center for Bilingual Research

Carole Edelsky
Arizona State University

Maryellen Garcia
National Center for Bilingual Research

Lance Potter
University of Southern California

Carol Reed
Brooklyn College

TEACHERS

Olivia Beltram
Sweetwater Union High School District,
Chula Vista, CA

Sterling Cincore
Compton Unified School District, CA

Karen Duchek
Window Rock Elementary District,
Fort Defiance, AZ

Mary Fleming
Roosevelt School District,
Phoenix, AZ

Irene Frias
Mesa Public Schools, AZ

Mildred Hamilton
Clark County Schools, NV

Richard Macias
Clark County Schools, NV

Virginia L. May
Long Beach Unified School District, CA

Gisela Slezak
Sunnyside School District No. 12,
Tucson, AZ

Jill Tanabe
Los Angeles Unified School District, CA

GUESTS

Betty Bamberg
University of Southern California

Cynthia Darché Park
San Diego State University

Mattye Fegan
Los Angeles Unified School District

Alma Monroe
Los Angeles Unified School District

Fernando Peñalosa
California State University at Long Beach

Mary Ann Pusey
Sweetwater Union High School District,
Chula Vista, CA

Carmen Silva-Corvalan
University of Southern California

Diane Weimer
Long Beach Unified School District, CA

SWRL COMPOSITION STAFF

Bruce Cronnell
Larry Gentry
Ann Humes
Joseph Lawlor

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS (Continued)

OTHER SWRL STAFF

Adrienne Escoe
Judy Larson
Ricardo Martinez
Richard Schutz

NATIONAL CENTER FOR BILINGUAL RESEARCH STAFF

Victor Rodriguez
Benji Wald

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editor wishes to thank the following people for their contributions to this project: Marcia Farr, NIE project monitor, for advice and support; Ann Humes, Larry Gentry, and Joseph Lawlor for their help before, during, and after the conference and particularly for their assistance in editing these proceedings; LoAnn Easlon, Eileen Crosby, and Carol Lamb for typing (and retyping) this document; Susan Maag and Marilyn Speights for their major contributions to the planning, arrangements, and functioning of the conference; Earl Jamgochian for recording and photographing the conference; Dean Risco and his staff for graphics and printing: Bessie Wiles for typesetting, Margaret Harkins for figures and tables, Anna Leong for cover design. The editor especially wishes to thank all the participants—whether formal speakers or not—for attending the conference and contributing to its success.